

STUDIES OF THE PĀLI COMMENTARIES

A Provisional Collection of Articles

Sodo MORI

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PREFACE

The presented publication is a provisional collection of twelve articles I have written on the Pāli commentary literature (Atthakathā). In order to ensure that the reader obtains a greater understanding of why I am publishing this incomplete book I will first describe how it came about.

In 1984 I published in Japanese my Doctorate of Literature dissertation titled A Study of the Pāli Commentaries --- Theravādic Aspects of the Atthakathās --- (『パーリ仏教註釈文献の研究 ---アッタカターの上座部的様相---』 Sankibo-Busshorin, Tokyo). Since then I have been mainly writing English articles on the same subject so as to both invite meaningful and useful critiques from foreign scholars who are unable to read Japanese, and to pass on some new knowledge they may not presently know. The majority of these English articles contain revised translations that are either clarified or abridged from parts of my above dissertation or from other Japanese articles I have written, although several are the original papers, published in English, resulting from my further studies and achievements. These articles have been published in Japanese and international academic journals and other publications. After completing some additional writings to the above articles I had the desire to organize and unify all my published works so that I could publish in the near future a new English book on the Pāli Commentaries that would not be just a translation of my published dissertation, but an independent study.

I have since been recently informed by the Nomination Committee that I shall have the honour of receiving the 1989 Eastern Study Prize given jointly by the Embassy of India in Japan and the Eastern Institute Incorporation. Needless to say this was far beyond my expectation and I wish to express my sincere thanks for this award. I have now decided that I will collectively organize most of my published English articles as an interim measure for the purpose of providing easier access to my works primarily for the many officers of the Embassy of India who are not normally familiar with the Japanese language.

I now wish to publish these articles prior to receiving the

above award, and because of the short time frame it was impossible for me to get permission from all the editors of the various journals to reproduce my articles. As a result, in addition to the new pagination in Italic figures found at the outer corner of the bottom of each page, the old paginations of the original publications purposely remain. I accordingly request the readers to refer to the old paginations with the respective names of the original publications when quoting a portion of this book. Although this is rather unusual I believe that all concerned editors will have no objections, especially since this publication is not for sale.

On the pages following the Japanese Preface the titles of the original twelve articles that make up the contents of this book and a list of the names of the original publications for the articles are respectively shown.

With a deep sense of gratitude I dedicate the presented book to His Excellency Mr. Arjun Gobindram Asrani, the Ambassador of India to Japan, Professor Hajime Nakamura, the Chief Director of the Eastern Institute Inc., and to all the members of the Nomination Committee for the 1989 Eastern Study Prize.

September, 1989

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本書は、一見して明らかな通り、パーリ註釈文献（アッタカタ）に関する英文拙稿 12 篇の抜刷をただ束ねて、単行本として出版しただけのものである。そこで先ず、この様な中途半端なものを刊行するに至った経緯を説明して、読者諸賢のご寛恕を乞いたいと思う。

昭和 59 年 2 月に、学位論文『パーリ仏教註釈文献の研究 --- アッタカタの上座部的様相 ---』（東京 山喜房仏書林）を出版してより此の方、私は、主として自身の研究成果を英語で表現して、日本語に無縁なる海外の同学者の批判を仰ぎ、かつ彼等の知見に何ほどかのものを加えることを念願して来た。昭和 60 年 4 月より一年間、ケンブリッジ大学東洋学部に出かけ、K.R.ノーマン教授の許で行なった仕事も主としてこれであった。それは主に、上記拙書の一部やそれ以外の和文雑誌論文を増補改訂または縮小改訂しつつ英訳する仕事であったが、しかし同時にその後の研究を纏めたオリジナルな英文論文も何点か草した。そしてこれらの諸論文はその都度、内外の諸雑誌や記念論文集等に公表された。今後、これらの論文に更に多くのものを加えて、全体の体系化、統一化を最終的に図った上で、近い将来には、前記拙書の単なる英訳書ではない、パーリ註釈文献に関する英文研究書を公刊することを秘かに計画していた。

丁度この様な時期に、この度、全く望外のこととして、在日インド大使館並びに財団法人東方研究会の共同授与による「第五回 東方学術賞」をいただく光栄に浴することとなった。まことに有難いことで深く感謝する次第である。しかしながら良く考えて見れば、日本の斯学者はともかくとして、日本語に無縁なインド大使館の関係各位に、私の研究の内容を十分にご理解いただくことは、このままでは大変困難なことであろう。そこでせめて、内外の雑誌等にいわば「散乱・埋没」している上記の英文拙稿を一書に纏めて、一覧に供したいと考え、急遽、本書の制作を思い立った次第である。だが、10 月に予定されている授賞式に間に合わせ様とすると、何分にも時間の余裕がなく、そのため各論文初出の雑誌（特に外国の雑誌）等の編集者全員に、いちいち転載の了解を求めることは不可能であった。そこで、本書の新しい一連の頁を、各頁の下の外隅にイタリック体の数字で示す以外に、各論文の元来の頁も敢えてそのまま残した。それは、本書の一部を引用する際に、本来の掲載

誌等の名称とそこにおける頁（旧頁）の方を、そのまま註記していただくためである。読者諸賢には、是非、この方法を探っていただく様、お願い申しあげたい。いささか変則的ではあるが、この様に処理することによって、上記の編集者各位のご理解も得られるものと確信している。また、以上の様な特殊な事情と体裁を有する書であるので、これも敢えて「私家版」として自費出版し、刊行のための出版社を探すことをしなかった。

この「はしがき」に続いて、本書の「目次」として、所収の論文 12 篇の題名を配列順に示し、その次に、各論文の初出雑誌名等のリストを掲げる。

最後に、今回の授賞に対して重ねて深甚なる謝意を表しつつ、文字通りまことに拙い書ではあるが、本書を駐日インド大使 アルジュン ゴービンドラム アスラニ閣下、東方研究会理事長 中村 元先生、並びに選考委員各位に謹んで捧げる。

平成元年 9 月

森 祖 道

CONTENTS

English Preface	I
Japanese Preface	III
I The Value of the Pāli Commentaries as Research Materials	1
II Chronology of the "Sīhaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (I)	21
III Chronology of the "Sīhaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (II)	55
IV Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā and Sārasamāsa : Some Unattributed Non-Mahāvihāravāsin Sources for the Pāli Commentaries	107
V [Review] Friedgard Lottermoser, <u>Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa : Contributions towards the Study of the Lost Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā Literature</u>	157
VI Some Minor Sources for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās : With Reference to Lottermoser's Study	179
VII Ariyavaṃsa and Ariyavaṃsa-kathā	193
VIII The Vitaṇḍavādins (Sophists) as seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās	207
IX Aṭṭhakathācariyas and Aṭṭhakathikas	227
X Mahāsīvatthera as seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās	237
XI The Chronology of the <u>Sīhaḷavatthupparāṇa</u>	253
XII <u>Sīhaḷavatthupparāṇa</u> and Pāli Aṭṭhakathā Literature	287

LIST OF THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

- I JOSAI JINBUN KENKYU (Josai Studies in the Humanities)
Vol. XVII , No. 1, 1989 Josai University Keizai Gakkai,
Saitama, Japan
- II BUKKYO KENKYU (Buddhist Studies) Vol. XVI , 1987
International Buddhist Association, Hamamatsu, Japan
- III BUKKYO KENKYU (Buddhist Studies) Vol. XVII , 1988
International Buddhist Association, Hamamatsu, Japan
- IV JOURNAL OF THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY Vol. XII , 1988
Pali Text Society, Oxford, U.K.
- V BUKKYO KENKYU (Buddhist Studies) Vol. XV , 1985
International Buddhist Association, Hamamatsu, Japan
- VI INDOLOGICAL AND BUDDHIST STUDIES :
Volume in Honour of Professor J. Takasaki on his 60th
Birthday, Shunjusha, Tokyo 1987
- VII JOSAI DAIGAKU KENKYU NENPO (Bulletin of Josai University)
Vol. XIII , 1989 Josai University, Saitama, Japan
- VIII PALI BUKKYO BUNKA KENKYU (Essays on the Pali and Buddhist
Civilization) Sankibo-Busshorin, Tokyo 1982
- IX INDOGAKU BUKKYOGAKU KENKYU (Journal of Indian and Buddhist
Studies) Vol. XXXI, NO. 2, 1983 Japanese Association of
Indian and Buddhist Studies, Tokyo
- X SRI LANKA JOURNAL OF BUDDHIST STUDIES Vol. I, 1987
Buddhist and Pali University of Sri Lanka, Colombo
- XI BULLETIN d'ETUDES INDIENNES No. 5, 1987
Association Française pour les Etudes Sanskrites, Paris
- XII PALIGAKU BUKKYOBUNKAGAKU (Journal of Pali and Buddhist
Studies) Vol. I, 1988 Society of the Study of Pali and
Buddhist Culture, Nagoya, Japan

JŌSAI JINBUN KENKYŪ Vol. XVII No. 1 (offprint)
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The Value of the Pāli Commentaries as Research Material

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Contents

1. Introduction: the Indic and Early Buddhist "older stratum" and the Sri Lankan and Theravādic "newer stratum" in the Pāli Commentaries
2. Value for Philological Studies and Translation
3. Value for Doctrinal and Philosophical Studies
4. Value for Linguistic Studies
5. Value for Historical, Geographical, Social and Cultural Studies
6. Remarks

1. Introduction: the Indic and Early Buddhist "older stratum" and the Sri Lankan and Theravādic "newer stratum" in the Pāli Commentaries

The Pāli Commentaries (Aṭṭhakathās)¹⁾ were composed by the hands of Buddhaghosa and other commentators in Sri Lanka in the fifth and sixth centuries mainly on the basis of the so-called 'lost Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā literature' or 'Sihaḷa Sources', etc. Therefore these texts should be regarded as one category of work. From this standpoint, I will discuss, in the present article, the various values of the Commentaries as research material.

Before entering into the investigation on these values, however, we must pay our first attention to the following two fundamental strata of the texts as a remarkable textual characteristic which can be considered from historical and geographical point of view. These

are the 'Indic older elements' and the 'Sri Lankan newer elements'. The former makes a stratum closely related to the Tipiṭaka, viz. the Vinayapiṭaka and Suttapiṭaka which are, roughly speaking, the material of Early Buddhism, and the Abhidhammapiṭaka connected to the early period of Theravāda Buddhism in India. The latter makes another stratum directly related to a later material of Sri Lankan Theravādins, which were produced and handed down chiefly at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of that country. The present Pāli Commentaries basically consist of the above two strata.

To state concretely, the Indic older features of them can abundantly be recognized in the following three kinds of evidence:

1) Quotations from and references to the texts originated in India, i.e. the Tipiṭaka and the three semicanonical works, the *Milindapañha*, *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Petakoṇḍasā*.

2) Appearance of ancient Indian persons such as the Buddha himself, his disciples and followers, other contemporaries of the Buddha, viz. certain kings, their ministers and retainers and non-Buddhists in general, and also those who belonged to the successive periods to that of the Buddha including King Asoka and his contemporaries.

3) Occurrence of the names of kingdoms, cities, towns, villages, rivers, mountains and other places in ancient India.

In this connection, the Indians appearing in the Aṭṭhakathās seem to be principally limited to those who lived in or before the reign of King Asoka, although this statement should be strictly attested by exhaustive examination. In any case, the above is, in a word, an aspect of the Pāli Commentaries as material for the study on India.

While on the other hand, the Sri Lankan newer features of the texts can be looked on from the following three kinds of evidence:

1) Quotations from and references to the so-called Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā literature, at least many parts of which were originated in Sri Lanka

and preserved at the Mahāvihāra.

2) Appearance of numerous ancient Sri Lankan persons such as Buddhist monks, nuns, believers, kings, ministers, retainers and so on.

3) Occurrence of the names of cities, areas, villages, rivers, mountains, monasteries, topes, and others in Sri Lanka.

This is, so to speak, an aspect of the texts as material for the study on Sri Lanka. Incidentally, all the datable Sri Lankans appearing in the Commentaries are restricted, with a very few exceptions, to those who were active in the period between the reign of King Devānampiyatissa (reigning: B. C. 250-210)²⁾, contemporary of King Asoka and that of King Vasabha (A. D. 65-109)³⁾.

In any circumstances, the present Commentaries are the works to be constituted as a complete whole by the older stratum which is connected to Early Buddhism in India and overlapped with the Tipiṭaka, and the newer stratum which is connected to Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka and developed into such later Pāli texts as Ṭīkas.

Because of its textual nature explained above, the Aṭṭhakathā literature has material values for miscellaneous researches on philology, linguistics, Buddhist doctrine and thought, history, geography, sociology and culture concerning ancient India as well as ancient Sri Lanka. Such being the case, I will argue, in the next section onward, the values and usefulness of the Aṭṭhakathās to the studies on the both countries.

2. Value for Philological Studies and Translation

It goes without saying that the Aṭṭhakathās are originally the commentaries upon the Tipiṭaka. Therefore they generally give, in a passage, commented words and phrases from the Tipiṭaka at first and then various equivalents, comments and explanations upon them, and also they occasionally have certain related stories and examples, etc. In this respect, it can be said that the Aṭṭhakathās would be a combination of the Tipiṭaka as the commented text and the Aṭṭhakathā

itself as its commentary. Accordingly, the passages from the Tipiṭaka appearing in the Aṭṭhakathās can always be compared with their originals in the Tipiṭaka itself, and these two corresponding parts should be examined through comparison. The Aṭṭhakathā texts are thus very useful to 'text critique' for the Tipiṭaka.

This 'text critique' for the Tipiṭaka, however, should not be confined to the comparison of parallel passages between the Tipiṭaka and Aṭṭhakathā. In case that certain particular passages or parts cannot be found in the corresponding Aṭṭhakathā as the object of commentation, the text critique is also needed. For instance, the present *Buddhavaṃsatṭhakathā* lacks in commentation upon Chapter 27 Pikkapakakathā and Chapter 28 Dhātubhājanīyakathā, the last two chapters of the *Buddhavaṃsa*. In this case, it is questioned whether or not these two chapters might have been added after the *Buddhavaṃsatṭhakathā* (more probably its old source commentary in Sinhalese) was composed. On the other hand, there is another possibility that the present text happened to lose its final two chapters for some reason or other. Then the situation would not be simple enough to attain a clear conclusion. Be the matter what it may, such philological differences between original texts and their commentaries cause the necessity of text critique. I take up one more example: the Mahāvagga in the *Suttanipatattṭhakathā*⁴⁾ gives a statement that throws a doubt as to the number of verse of the *Kokaliyasutta* (Sn III, 10), the commented sutta by the Aṭṭhakathā. That is to say, the number of the verse in the present text of this sutta is twenty-two, whereas according to the above statement in the commentary, the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, one of the most important source-material commented upon only twenty verses of the sutta lacking in the last couple of verses. This statement raises a question that these two verses might have been a later addition.⁵⁾

In this way, various kinds of text critique upon the texts of the Tipiṭaka are made possible by examining their parallel passages and portions in the corresponding commentaries. The text critique on

the Pāli Canon was hitherto offered in comparison with its Chinese version for the purpose of confirming or revising passages, or judging textual strata, etc. Yet if we make use of the Aṭṭhakathā texts as another material for this study, then a new method of research would be established. This method would be specifically necessary and effective in case of some Pāli texts which have no translations in Chinese, etc.

I will next consider the value of the Aṭṭhakathās for translation of the Tipiṭaka. The doctrinal interpretations indicated in the Commentaries would be those of a Hinayāna Sect and they might have more or less been changed into Theravādic transfiguration. I think, however, that they still keep the position of our precious academic heritage for the sake of better understandings of the doctrine and thought of Early Buddhism through accurate interpretation of words and phrases in the Tipiṭaka, especially in the Vinayapiṭaka and Suttapiṭaka into modern languages. In particular, when we translate the words and phrases of the Canon in Pāli as an old Indian language into any modern non-Indian language, we should take care of the gaps of meaning existing between the two. In order to bridge the gaps, the Aṭṭhakathās are actually very useful. However, it is not reasonable in this case to wholly follow all the interpretations of the words and phrases given in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. When we could find, from a proper and broad point of view, any Theravādic later leanings as to their interpretations and any mistakes and misunderstandings, we should criticise them. Then we are able to make the best use of the Commentaries. In any circumstances, I do not think it possible for us to attempt suitable translation of the Early Buddhist texts without regard for the Aṭṭhakathās which fully contain enormous and detailed expositions and interpretations shown by ancient Indians and Sri Lankans whose religious and cultural positions to the Buddha were much closer beyond comparison than our position today. As a typical example for good translation explained above, the *Elder's Verses* I & II, the English translation of the

Theragāthā and *Therīgāthā* made by Mr. K. R. Norman can be taken up.⁶⁾ He tried to gain better understandings on the important and difficult words and phrases of the original texts through the commentation in their *Aṭṭhakathās*. The above is a discussion of the value of the Commentaries as a material for translation of the *Tipiṭaka*.

3. Value for Doctrinal and Philosophical Studies

Since the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts are a Buddhist literature, the most essential study regarding these texts would be the elucidation on Buddhist doctrine and thought or religious realities (of Buddhism described in them). It can be stated that the critical editions of original texts, their translations into modern languages and diverse philological investigations are all the fundamental research which is regarded, in a sense, as precondition and means for the sake of proper understanding of the contents through accurate reading of the originals. In this meaning, the value of the *Aṭṭhakathās* for doctrinal and philosophical studies discussed in this section would be the most important among many values of them. If the *Aṭṭhakathās* have been composed and preserved by the Mahāvihāra fraternity of the Southern Theravāda Buddhism at all, the major doctrine and thought expressed in them ought to be those of the above fraternity. In addition to such major doctrine and thought, however, there are recorded in these texts those of other schools and fraternities. These non-Mahāvihāra views are quoted as anonymous views which are in fact expressed either as 'Some' or 'Others' (Aññe, Apare, Itare, Ekacce, Eke, Keci, Pare, Ye.....te, etc. : generally in the nominative, plural, masculine form),⁷⁾ or as 'Sophists' (Vitaṇḍavādins).⁸⁾ These views are denied or criticised as the wrong and heterodox views judged from the Mahāvihāra standpoint, or are noted as supplemental and referential views to the orthodox views of the Mahāvihāra fraternity. The majority of these unnamed persons have been unable to be identified as yet by any means, but some of them have fortu-

nately been identified through the comments upon them in the *Ṭikās* of the *Aṭṭhakathās*. Among these identifiable names a great many are the Abhayagiri-vāsins (or Uttaravihāravāsins) and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas (quite probably Dakkhinagiri-vāsins), the two rival fraternities to the Mahāvihāravāsins in ancient Sri Lanka,⁹⁾ and others are the Mahāsaṅghikas, Andhakas, Viññānavādins, etc.

These doctrine and thought of the Mahāvihāravāsins and the non-Mahāvihāravāsins derived directly or indirectly from the teaching of the Buddha which can be gathered from the *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Suttapiṭaka*. His teaching is of course the most essential, on the basis of which the doctrine and thought of the so-called Early Buddhism were formed. These further developed into the two main traditions of Buddhism, viz. the Southern and the Northern Buddhism. The Pāli Commentaries keep a high value as a material for the research on the history of Buddhist doctrine and thought, especially on the comparison between the above two traditions, by which reason their importance should be fully realised. The Commentaries are one of the representative materials of the Southern Theravādins, while as the Northern material of the Hinayāna being exant today, its major works including their Chinese versions are of the Sarvāstivādins, such as the *Abhi-daruma-dai-bi-ba-sha-ron* (A-pi-ta-mo-ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun, Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra)¹⁰⁾ and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,¹¹⁾ etc. and other minor works are the *Sha-ri-hotsu-abhi-don-ron* (Shê-li-fu-a-p'i-t'an-lun)¹²⁾ perhaps of the Dharmagupta School and the *Jō-jitsu-ron* (Ch'êng shih-lun, Satya-siddhi-śāstra)¹³⁾ of the Sautrāntika School, and so on. With regard to the Buddhist history since the Mahāyāna School arose, the comparative study on the doctrine and thought between the Mahāyāna and the Theravāda are questioned, and for this study the Pāli Commentaries are also needed definitely.

4. Value for Linguistic Studies

The *Aṭṭhakathās* are a literature written in the Pāli language. Pāli is a sort of Prākṛit, the Middle Indo-Āryan language and is

likely to have originated in West India.¹⁴⁾ Pāli has its history of more than two thousand years since it was adopted as the language for the Buddhist scriptures in the Southern Theravāda School. Professor K. Mizuno roughly divides the stage of development of this language in this duration into the following four :

1. Pāli in verse of the Canon : until 3 C. B. C.
2. Pāli in prose of the Canon : until 100 years B. C.
3. Pāli in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, etc. : several hundred years before and after 5-6 C. A. D. respectively.
4. Pāli in later texts : 10 C. onward.

As for the third stage, the texts belonging to that other than the Commentaries are doctrinal summaries, chronicles, semicanonical texts, etc. It is said that Pāli in this stage is the most fluent and polished.¹⁵⁾

The above is just a brief classification, however, and therefore more thorough analysis from the point of linguistic history should be carried out upon the group of text belonging to each stage. By way of example, regarding the third period to which the Aṭṭhakathās belong, it cannot be reasonable to consider that the linguistic feature of Pāli during so long a period of this as about one thousand years was one and the same. That is to say, it is difficult to suppose that no linguistic developments and changes took place in the literary history of semicanonical texts, Aṭṭhakathās, chronicles, doctrinal summaries, etc. In fact concerning chronicle texts, it has been pointed that the Pāli of the *Dīpavaṃsa* is less flowing and refined than that of the *Mahāvaṃsa* which is a later work.¹⁶⁾ It is well-known that the *Sīhaḷavattuppakaraṇa*, a Buddhist narrative literature was also written in meagre and non-standard Pāli, which reminds us of the Pāli of the *Dīpavaṃsa*.¹⁷⁾

Regarding the commentarial works of Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, Buddhādatta, Upasena, Mahānāma and so on, it would be necessary to examine whether or not any linguistic difference can be recognized beyond the boundary of personal style or personal literary charac-

teristics of these authors. There has not been a single person so far, who took up these problems and investigated in detail all the massive Aṭṭhakathā literature, etc.

As a field of the Pāli studies, we must not neglect to call attention to the subject on metre. The recent representative researches in this field were made mainly by Alsdorf, Norman, Warder, etc.¹⁸⁾ Yet as far as Pāli is concerned what they discussed was restricted to the metre in the Tipiṭaka : they did not touch upon that in the Aṭṭhakathās. It is accordingly requested to proceed with the study by way of taking up the metre in the Aṭṭhakathās and other later texts.

Mention is next made as to the compiling work of Pāli dictionaries. As is widely known, we have now two major Pāli dictionaries : one is the Pāli Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* and the other is *A Critical Pali Dictionary* in process of publication by the Royal Danish Academy in Copenhagen.¹⁹⁾ The former is the only practical good dictionary at present, the revised and enlarged edition of which is being compiled by Mrs. M. Cone at Cambridge under the editorship of Mr. K. R. Norman, President of the Society. Its early publication is earnestly expected. The latter, *Critical Pali Dictionary* begun by V. Trenckner is the really comprehensive and most authentic dictionary on Pāli. Since the publication of its first fascicle in 1924, this dictionary has occasionally been being issued fascicle by fascicle as an international project. The newest, i. e. Vol. II, Fascicle 15 (ekāyana—evam-adhippāya) was made public in 1988 under the supervision of Mr. K. R. Norman, the present Editor-in-Chief. Although the editors of this dictionary are facing an extreme financial difficulty, its completion even in the remote future is eagerly wished for. Needless to say, the Aṭṭhakathā material is amply used in these two dictionaries, and they expedite the research upon the Aṭṭhakathā texts themselves and also the research by means of the texts.

5. Value for Historical, Geographical, Social and Cultural Studies

In spite of the fact that the Aṭṭhakathās are originally the works for commentation of the words and phrases in the Tipiṭaka and for exposition of doctrine and thought, they are not filled with such difficult and boring contents all through the texts. The texts record in detail a large number of truly interesting and vivid stories and episodes of the Buddha himself, his disciples, other monks and nuns, kings, their retainers, lay-believers, non-Buddhists and so forth of both ancient India and Sri Lanka. These stories are inserted in places to give better understandings on doctrine and thought and to show distinguished examples of Buddhist practice. Some of the stories are partially or wholly identical and overlapped with those in the Tipiṭaka. For describing the activities of such persons as mentioned above, it was needed to sketch the historical, geographical, social and cultural backgrounds and circumstances of their stories, in other words, the world they lived in. As a result, these various descriptions unintentionally offer abundant pieces of information valuable to the historical, geographical, social, and cultural researches on the two countries in those days.

In this connection, one point should here be attended to. That is a matter of historicity and legendary nature of the stories. Generally stating the historicity of Buddhist texts is more or less doubted even concerning the Tipiṭaka itself. The biography and teachings of the Buddha himself recorded here and there in the Tipiṭaka are to be examined to find how historically true these facts were. It should be judged as a whole through careful text critique. In this respect, it goes without saying that Chinese versions of the Tipiṭaka and other texts of different traditions would be quite useful. The situation is exactly the same as in the case of the Aṭṭhakathās. As regards the stories told in them, it is necessary to try to discover the historic truth by means of comparing them with as many cor-

responding materials as possible. It is furthermore requested to check up and confirm the conclusions of the researches based on literary evidence in comparison with the achievements of such related studies as archaeology, epigraphy, numismatology, etc.

The stories in the Aṭṭhakathā texts can briefly be divided into two: stories of Indians living in India and stories of Sri Lankans in Sri Lanka (including Indians living there). This division derives from the dual stratified feature of the texts already explained. In the part concerning India, there appear plenty of Indians such as the Buddha himself, his disciples and followers, kings, their retainers, etc. who were contemporaries of the Buddha or later persons. Some of these stories are identified with those in the Tipiṭaka, whereas others differ more or less from them. The disagreement generally tends to come from the fact that they are extended, in greater or lesser degree, from the original stories in the Tipiṭaka. Such two aspects can thus be known about the Indian stories. The agreed parts in the Aṭṭhakathās with the stories in the Tipiṭaka fulfill a role of confirming the original stories: in case that they are regarded as historical facts, the concord between the two further proves their historicity; while in case that they are regarded as a mere legend, the concord between the two proves the fact that the legend did not develop or change any more in a later period. Moreover the disagreed parts afford evidence of historical changes of the stories regardless of their historicity or legendary nature. The stories in the Aṭṭhakathās which have no corresponding stories in the Tipiṭaka can generally be considered to be later fictions or from different traditions.

As we have seen, the Pāli Commentaries are valuable as the supplemental and growing material to the Tipiṭaka for the purpose of the historical and legendary researches as to India. Incidentally, not only historical facts of the Buddha and his disciples, but also their fictional legends should be researched more by making full use of the Aṭṭhakathā texts.

On the contrary to the phase that the Indian stories in the

Aṭṭhakathās seem to be of more legendary nature rather than otherwise, the stories regarding Sri Lanka are likely to keep more historicity. It perhaps comes from the racial and cultural characteristics of Sri Lankan people who composed many works on history, such as the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa*, etc. Their characteristics make a good contrast with those of the people in India, the so-called non-historical country which hardly has any reliable works on history at least in ancient times. The above chronicles of Sri Lanka naturally contain many legendary and fictional elements which cannot be considered to be historical facts by any possibility. It would also be indispensable, in this case, to go through due text critique. However, if we take the necessary steps to compare the contents of these chronicles with those of the Sri Lankan stories in the Commentaries and also with those of the Buddhist narrative literature of Sri Lanka which would be of value for historical studies as mentioned earlier; and if we consult the achievements of such related studies as already explained, then we would be able to reach considerably trustworthy conclusions on history.

In this connection, if we take up any subject limited to the history of Buddhism, the research would be on the history of Buddhism in general, of Buddhist doctrine and thought or of Buddhist Order, etc. in ancient Sri Lanka. The exemplary products in this field are the works of Adikaram, Rahura, etc.,²⁰⁾ all of which made full use of the Aṭṭhakathā material. On the other hand, for the general history on that country, its outstanding books would be the *History of Ceylon* by the University of Ceylon (now University of Peradeniya) Vol. I, pts. I & II, its concise edition, etc.²¹⁾ in which the Aṭṭhakathās were also used as the most essential material together with other Pāli texts.

The value of the Aṭṭhakathās for historical studies has been stated above. The value for geographical studies should not be left untouched. B. C. Law who made a contribution to the historical geography in ancient India as one of his subjects laid emphasis upon

the material value, in this subject, of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās and Pāli chronicles along with the Pāli Nikāyas and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. He states²²⁾ that the works of Buddhaghosa are of particular importance among the Aṭṭhakathā texts as the material for historical geography. The reason would be as follows: in the Tipiṭaka as the canon commented by the Aṭṭhakathās, especially in the Vinayaṭiṭaka and Suttapiṭaka, there occur many names of places centring round the so-called Madhyadeśa, the region of the middle reaches of the River Ganges, in connection with the activities of the Buddha and his disciples and followers. These places are countries, cities, villages, monasteries, mountains, rivers, etc. Let us say, it is common with an ordinary sutta that it begins with the stereo-typed expression, 'Evaṃ me sutaṃ' and next it mentions the place (and the monastery) where the Buddha preached this sutta, the number of the bhikkhu, etc. who listened to this preaching and so forth. In this way, the names of places, etc. in ancient India become very familiar to us. Because of the circumstances explained above, the Tipiṭaka itself is useful for the geographical studies on ancient India. The Aṭṭhakathās contain in places comments and explanations upon these places mentioned in the Tipiṭaka, which offer pieces of new geographical knowledge and information in detail. They can be regarded, therefore, as a good sort of material in this subject. However, it does not seem that they have been made full use of in the existing researches. For instance, in spite of the suggestion from B. C. Law as written above, the Aṭṭhakathā material was not at all referred to even in the work of D. C. Sircar published in 1971,²³⁾ although Pāli Nikāyas were put to good use.

The Aṭṭhakathā material for the historical geography of ancient Sri Lanka would not be so plentiful as of India. The names of certain places and other geographical information, however, are available in the stories concerning ancient Sri Lankan individuals and it would be helpful to collect this kind of geographical knowledge of this country and to integrate it with other literary and archaeological knowledge relating to this subject.

The value of the Aṭṭhakathā literature for social and cultural studies will be discussed next. As to Indian features, to my knowledge, no research employing the Aṭṭhakathās has been made to this day. The reason seems to be that scholars in these fields set aside the Tipiṭaka and consider the Aṭṭhakathās to be 'Buddhist commentarial literature' which was composed in Sri Lanka and has been preserved not in India but in the Southern Buddhist countries and which they believe has no relation with social and cultural researches on India. Moreover it is to be noted that, on the contrary, Buddhist scholars, linguists and philologists dealing with the Aṭṭhakathā texts are not particularly interested in Indian society and culture in general. However it may be, the following statement would be a very good example to prove the Aṭṭhakathās to be an important material on the social and cultural history both in India and Sri Lanka. That is regarding 'nāli' (Skt. nāḍi), a unit of weight for gold, silver and other precious metals. In the *Samantapāsādikā*,²⁴⁾ there are mentioned three kinds of nāli in ancient period, i. e. Magadha nāli (in North India), Damiḷa nāli (in South India) and Sihaḷa nāli (in Sri Lanka). The comparison of the weight is recorded as follows: 1 Magadha nāli=13.5 pala (or phala, Skt. pala)²⁵⁾; 3 Magadha nāli=1.5 Sihaḷa nāli (the former is the half of the latter); and Damiḷa nāli is less than Magadha nāli: "Sihaḷa nāli>Magadha nāli>Damiḷa nāli". In addition, the original source of the above statement is the Andhakaṭṭhakathā made in South India and the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā which is one of the most important sources composed in Sri Lanka. This clear reference to these original sources increases the authenticity of the above statement as to nāli. In any case, this would be quite valuable from the point of view of social and cultural history. Many other records of the similar kind could be found out by way of thorough investigation throughout the Aṭṭhakathā texts.

The Aṭṭhakathā texts are made better use of for social and cultural studies of Sri Lanka than of India, perhaps because of the recognition that they are Sri Lanka's own classics. For example, W.

Geiger's posthumous work mentioned below which was published by Professor H. Bechert was written chiefly on the basis of the statement of the *Mahāvamsa*, but it has already quoted some Aṭṭhakathās in it.

W. Geiger: *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, ed. by H. Bechert (Wiesbaden 1960).

The use of the Aṭṭhakathās in this work, however, is very limited and not enough as yet. On the other hand, the following books of Ellawala and Hettiarachchy cite many Aṭṭhakathās, and their value for these topics is fully realised there.

E. Ellawala: *Social History of Early Ceylon* (Colombo 1969).

T. Hettiarachchy: *History of Kingship in Ceylon up to the Fourth Century A. D.* (Colombo 1972).

In the future the Aṭṭhakathā literature would possibly be taken full advantage of in more particular fields such as the ancient histories of society, culture, politics, etc. in Sri Lanka, and the value of this literature would be more and more appreciated.

The value of the Aṭṭhakathās as the material of research on the ancient period of India and Sri Lanka should be further argued from many other points than those already touched on. In substance, it should further be improved by scholars with critical and creative mind. It would be no exaggeration to say, in this sense, that the Aṭṭhakathā texts or Pāli Commentaries are a vast treasure-house of material to be opened up by those who get interested in the studies of the both countries.

6. Remarks

In the previous sections, I discussed the value of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts for the various studies as to the two countries, India and Sri Lanka, in ancient period. In order to conduct whatever studies, it would first of all be necessary to make clear the chronological aspects of the texts. This problem can be classified into the following two: the first is the chronology of the sources for the Aṭṭhakathās, i. e. the sources of Indian origin and those of Sri Lankan

product. These two kinds of chronological feature can be cleared up by way of examining the dates of all the Indian and Sri Lankan persons appearing in the texts.²⁶⁾ The second is the chronology of the present Pāli Commentaries themselves, which can be investigated through the biographical researches of their authors headed by Buddhaghosa.²⁷⁾

In addition, for the more effective and comprehensive analysis in any research, the completion of the general index or concordance of the texts would be most urgently requested. I believe it could sufficiently be compiled on computer system. And then the early completion of the full translations of the Aṭṭhakathas is also required, only some of which have been being published one by one by the Pāli Text Society in Oxford and others.

Notes

Abbreviations are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I (Copenhagen 1924-28). In addition, Nanden = Nanden Daizōkyō, 70 vols. (Japanese translation series of the Pāli Canon and other Pāli texts, Tokyo 1935-41); Taishō = Taishō Tripiṭaka of Chinese Version, 100 vols. (Tokyo 1897-1910, reprint: 1960-79).

References to Pāli texts are to the Pāli Text Society's editions unless otherwise stated.

- 1) These texts refer here to the *Visuddhimagga* and the direct commentaries upon the Pāli Canon (Tipiṭaka). They are also called on occasion the Aṭṭhakathā texts, Aṭṭhakathā literature, (Pāli) commentarial literature, etc.
- 2) As for the dates of the reigns of the kings of Sri Lanka, those given in "A Chronological List of Ceylon Kings" composed by S. Paranavitana, which is contained in the *University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon* (Colombo 1961, pp. 341-46) are adopted in the present article. This is the most recent and most reliable.
- 3) As to this matter, cf. S. Mori: "Chronology of the 'Sihaḷa Sources' for the Pāli Commentaries" (I), (II) in the journal of *Buddhist Studies*, Vols. XVI (pp. 151-82), XVII (pp. 119-67), Hamamatsu, Japan 1987-88.
- 4) Pj II, 477.
- 5) Some other examples as to the difference and contradiction between the passages in the Tipiṭaka and those in the corresponding commentaries were pointed out by Adikaram: they are in the cases between Ja, Vibh, Paṭi, etc. and their respective commentaries. See E.W. Adikaram:

Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon (Colombo 1946) pp. 33-35. As a similar instance, the following statement by Mizuno is to be noted: "Although the quotation in Vism (II, 655, ll. 27 ff.) is most likely to come from Nidd II, the identical passage does not exist in its present text. See K. Mizuno: Japanese translation of Nidd II (Nanden, Vol. 64) p. 425, n. 7. Many more similar cases seem to be found out by thorough investigation.

- 6) K. R. Norman, tr.: *The Elder's Verses I (Theragāthā); The Elder's Verses II (Therīgāthā)* London 1969-71.
- 7) A list of sources of all these words found in the Aṭṭhakathās is available in the following: S. Mori: *A Study of the Pāli Commentaries: Theravādic aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās* (in Japanese, Tokyo 1984), pp. 112-28.
- 8) As to the Sophists, see S. Mori: "The Vitaṇḍavādins (Sophists) as Seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās", *Essays on the Pāli and Buddhist Civilization* (Tokyo 1982), pp. 1-18.
- 9) As to these two fraternities, see S. Mori: "Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā and Sārasamāsa: some unattributed non-Mahāvihāravāsin sources for the Pāli Commentaries", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, Vol. XII (Oxford 1988), pp. 1-47.
- 10) Taishō No. 1545: Vol. 27, pp. 1 ff.
- 11) P. Pradhan, ed.: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Patna 1967.
- 12) Taishō No. 1548: Vol. 28, pp. 525 ff.
- 13) Taishō No. 1646: Vol. 32, pp. 239 ff.
- 14) Cf. S. Mori: "The Chronology of the *Sihaḷavatthupparakaṇa*", *Bulletin d'Etudes Indiennes*, No. 5 (Paris 1987), p. 236 f.
- 15) K. Mizuno: *A Pāli Grammar* (in Japanese, Tokyo 1955), pp. 14-16.
- 16) H. Oldenberg, ed., tr.: *The Dipavaṃsa* (London 1879), Introd. p. 8 f.; W. Geiger: *Dipavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon* (Leipzig 1905), p. 17 f.; K. R. Norman: *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden 1983), p. 115 f., etc.
- 17) A. P. Buddhadatta, ed.: *Sihaḷavatthupparakaṇa* (Sri Lanka 1959), Preface, p. ix. As for this text, in passing, see S. Mori: *op. cit.* (n. 14) pp. 221-50; S. Mori: "*Sihaḷavatthupparakaṇa* and Pāli Aṭṭhakathā Literature," *Journal of Pāli and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 1 (Nagoya 1988), pp. 47-72. A preliminary article upon the Pāli of the *Dipavaṃsa* in comparison with the *Sihaḷavatthupparakaṇa* and *Dasavatthupparakaṇa* (Paris 1976) was very recently published, i. e. R. Tsuchida: "Observations on the Language of the *Dipavaṃsa*" in *Die Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, Heft 13/14 (Reinbek 1987), pp. 301-10. More studies of this kind are to be expected.
- 18) L. Alsdorf: *Les Études Jaina* (Paris 1965), pp. 51-72; L. Alsdorf: *Die Ārya-Strophen des Pāli-Kanons* (Wiesbaden 1967), K. R. Norman & L. Alsdorf: *The Thera-Therī-gāthā* (London 1966), Appendices I, II; K. R. Norman, tr.: *The Elder's Verses I, II* (n. 6), respective Introduc-

- tions; A. K. Warder: *Pāli Metre: a contribution to the history of Indian literature* (London 1967), etc.
- 19) For a recent information regarding these two dictionaries, see K. R. Norman: "A Report on Pāli Dictionaries", the journal of the *Buddhist Studies* (n. 3), Vol. XV, pp. 145-52. Cf. M. Cone: "A Pāli-English Dictionary" in the same journal Vol. XVIII, pp. 121-124.
- 20) E. W. Adikaram: *op. cit.* (n. 5); W. Rahula: *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo 1956).
- 21) H. C. Ray &c., ed.: *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pts. I, II (Colombo 1959-60); C. W. Nicholas & S. Paravitana: *University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon* (Colombo 1961). As a material in the Aṭṭhakathās for historical studies, especially for the study on Buddhist history, Professor Warder stressed the importance of the Bāhiranidāna, the introductory part of Sp and the Ācariyaparamparā contained also in the same text. (A. K. Warder: "The Pāli Canon and its Commentaries as an Historical Record", *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. by Sir C. H. Philips, pt. 1 (London 1961), pp. 47-49). Yet this kind of material should not be limited to the above two: various descriptions and pieces of information concerning historical matters which can be found in many places throughout the whole Aṭṭhakathās should all be widely recognized and picked up as the material of historical research.
- 22) B. C. Law: *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (Paris 1955), p. 2f. Incidentally the following are also his writings on the same subject: *Geography of Early Buddhism* (London 1932); *Geographical Essays*, Vol. 1 (London 1937); "Geographical Data from Sanskrit Buddhist Literature", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XV, pts. I-II, pp. 1-38.
- 23) D. C. Sircar: *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (Second edn. Revised and Enlarged, Delhi 1971).
- 24) Sp III, 702.
- 25) According to Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, the conversion factor of 'Pala' in Sanskrit is as under: 1 Pala=4 Karṣas; 1 Karṣa=16 Māṣas=80 Rettis=1/4 Pala=1/400 Tulā=about 176 grains troy, in common use 8 Rettis are given to the Māṣa, and the Karṣa is then about 280 grains troy. As to 'Troy Weight' for precious metals and stones, 1 grain=0.0648 g.; in passing, 1 pound=12 ounces; 1 ounce=20 pennyweights; 1 pennyweight=24 grains.
- 26) About the chronological aspects of the Sri Lankan sources, see S. Mori: *op. cit.* (n. 3).
- 27) With respect to the biographies of Pāli commentators like Buddhaghosa, see my book (n. 7), pp. 467-558 (: Part III).

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Chronology of the "Sihaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (I)¹⁾

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Chronology of the "Sihala Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (I)¹⁾

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Contents

Chapter I. Introduction : the question and the methodology of investigation

Chapter II. Datable Sri Lankans : 128 persons

1. Before Devānampiyatissa-rāja
 2. Period of Devānampiyatissa-rāja
 3. Period of Eḷāra-rāja and Kākavaṇṇatissa-rāja
 4. Period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī-rāja (in this volume)
-
5. Period of Saddhātissa-rāja
 6. Period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī-rāja : including the five Dravidian kings
 7. Period of Coranāga-rāja
 8. Period of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa-rāja, Bhātika Abhaya-rāja, and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga-rāja
 9. Period of Candamukha-Siva-rāja
 10. Period of Vasabha-rāja
 11. Period of Mahāsena-rāja

Chapter III. Undatable Sri Lankans : 60 persons

Chapter IV. Conclusion

Chapter I. Introduction : the question and the methodology of investigation

The Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature, which refers to the *Visuddhimagga* and the commentaries upon the Pāli canon, was written by several

commentators headed by Buddhaghosa in the fifth and sixth centuries. These Aṭṭhakathā texts were composed on the basis of numerous source materials mainly in old Sinhalese or Pāli, which had been preserved at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, the capital of ancient Sri Lanka. These sources can primarily be classified in the following six groups :

- (1) the Tipiṭaka : the Pāli canon
- (2) the three post-canonical texts : the *Nettipakaraṇa*, *Peṭakopadesa*, and *Milindapañha*
- (3) the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts themselves
- (4) the Sihaḷa sources : the "Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā"
- (5) sources of schools other than the Mahāvihāra fraternity
- (6) other minor sources

Of these source materials, although the canon and the three post-canonical works which originated in India are of course very essential, the major and central material for the commentarial literature is still the Sihaḷa sources (sometimes called the Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā). It is clear that without these Sihaḷa sources, the Pāli commentaries could have never been composed. The chronological study of them is, as is well recognized, one of the most important subjects in the field of the Pāli commentarial literature. In order to locate this literature properly in the history of the whole Pāli literature, we must consider two kinds of textual chronology : the first is the chronology of the present texts, which can be studied by the investigation of the Pāli commentators' lives, specifically of the dates of writing of each text in their life-times. This is the "ostensible date" of the commentaries. The second is the chronology of their Sihaḷa sources as a whole, which can also be made clear by the detailed analysis of the dates of all the persons who are referred to in all the texts concerned. This is the "real and substantial date" of this literature. The latter method was just hinted at by Dr. Adikaram's search, though it is still inadequate and much improvement is needed.²⁾ The Sihaḷa sources under consideration certainly contain some important sources which originated in India ; they were introduced from there into Sri Lanka by a certain

date ; and they were preserved in Sri Lanka. For these sources of Indian origin, a different chronogical study is necessary. However, as far as the main body of the Sihaḷa sources which was produced and developed in that country (in other words, the Sihaḷa sources of Sri Lankan origin) is concerned, its textual chronology can be well examined by the comprehensive analysis of the dates of the Sri Lankans being referred to in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. Those who read through the Aṭṭhakathā texts will find in them abundant stories and episodes concerning these ancient Sri Lankans (as well as ancient Indians). These records are inserted in various passages mainly as practical examples to give a better understanding about certain abstract interpretations of doctrine or about various points of discipline. In addition, there can be seen in these texts many quotations from views and opinions of Sri Lankan (and Indian) monks on various doctrinal or disciplinary problems, which are on some occasions accepted and are on other occasions rejected by the Pāli commentators from the orthodox standpoint of the Mahāvihāra. In fact, these practical examples and views of persons in ancient Sri Lanka (and India) must have been recorded in the Sihaḷa sources or closely connected with them, even if a part of the record was transmitted orally. Therefore, if the names of all such Sri Lankans (always including some foreigners — usually Indians — dwelling in the country), together with their stories and views and the statements concerning them, are collected from all the Aṭṭhakathā texts, and if then the dates of their lifetimes can be judged individually by means of an investigation of all such statements relating to them, the upper and lower limits and other aspects of their dates as a whole can show the upper and lower chronological limits and other aspects of formation of the Sihaḷa sources, i. e. the "real and substantial date" of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās.

Next, the methodological premises for this study will be further discussed item by item :

[1] With respect to the method of deciding the dates of these Sri Lankans, unlike ancient Indians whose dates are usually very uncertain, their dates are, generally speaking, possible to be fixed. The reigning periods of Sri Lankan kings are clear and exact to a considerable degree ;

consequently the dates of persons other than kings, e. g. monks, nuns, queens, ministers, lay-followers, common people, etc. can, in many cases, be determined by searching the direct and indirect relations regarding political, social, Buddhist matters, etc. between the kings and these other persons. Yet it is almost impossible in this case to show the years of their births and deaths, which is the normal way of dating historical persons. Dating in this study cannot go beyond the level that a certain person was alive and did or said something in the reign of a certain king. Even in this way, however, there is a possibility of making a difference of some decades. For instance, when a person is only once recorded as having done or said something during a certain king's time, if he was still very young at that time, and it happened in the king's late period, he can be supposed to have lived well into the next king's reign or even later; whereas if he was already old, and it happened in the king's early period, he can be supposed to have been living since the reign of the previous king or even earlier. I can in fact confirm that some persons lived during two or more reigns as will be described later. But generally speaking, such detailed information is not available. In the case of the dating of the kings themselves, it is also almost impossible to date their births and deaths. The only possibility is to consider that the reigns of the kings in many cases ended with their deaths; even so, their births are undatable. For the present chronological study of the Sihaḷa sources, the only possible way of dating the lifetimes of all the Sri Lankans concerned is by means of indicating the reigns of the kings who were reigning when particular persons lived.

[2] Three more difficult points with reference to the examination of the dates of the Sri Lankans concerned will now be explained:

The first is the problem of identifying persons with the same name. There are many Sri Lankans with the same basic name. Some of them are differentiated by other special prefixed names or epithets, i. e. the names of monasteries or places where they resided; specific titles or specialist names (Tipiṭaka, Dīghabhāṇaka-); or modifying names which indicate their seniority in their family, in age, or in the Order (Mahā-, Cūḷa- =Culla-). There are, however, many persons who are called by

their basic names only. In addition, some persons with different names can be identified as one and the same person. Such being the case, it is very important and necessary to identify as far as possible all persons with similar or related names by means of the comparison of their actual names, their deeds and views recorded, the legends and stories about them, and other passages in which they are referred to.

[3] The second difficulty is the problem of the historicity of the stories in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. The historicity of these stories is sometimes doubtful, and some, moreover, are partially embellished and exaggerated. However, even if some of the stories are fictional, they should still be taken into consideration together with real historical events, because it is not the historical facts as a whole, but the direct or indirect relations between the kings and the other Sri Lankans that must be examined as part of the chronological study of the Sihaḷa sources of the texts which record them as a fact. In addition, even a fictional relation of a particular king with a particular person can be regarded as a clue in such a specific investigation, because we can deduce that there must have been some sort of relation between the two, as a result of which the fictional story about them was produced. There is no possibility, generally speaking, of creating any fiction between persons who have had no relation at all. Moreover, when we take into consideration all the Sri Lankans appearing in all the Aṭṭhakathā texts (not merely some of the persons appearing in some of the texts), the final conclusion of the whole investigation must be reliable to a considerable degree. In any case, so long as historical facts and fictional stories in the Aṭṭhakathā texts cannot strictly be differentiated on clear evidence, it is the only creditable and practical method to examine all the persons concerned in all the texts concerned under certain conditions which are now being discussed in this introductory chapter.

[4] The third difficulty is the problem of a certain lack of certainty about the dating of some individuals. There are two kinds of case in this respect: one is the instance in which a person can be dated as a result of creditable record or story, and the other is the instance in which a person can be dated as a result of a rather uncertain statement argu-

mented by mere supposition. Such a lack of certainty about the dating of persons cannot be avoided in spite of all our efforts, though the former cases are fortunately in the majority. On the other hand, there remain many persons whose dates cannot be fixed at all. In this situation, the only possible way is to analyse all the cases, including those which are less certain, and then to make a final all-embracing judgement.

[5] Despite the fact that I have insisted that all the Sri Lankans in all the Aṭṭhakathā texts should be taken into consideration together, there are a few exceptions. One is the Sri Lankans who are referred to in the prefaces and afterwords of the texts. These prefaces and afterwords in Pāli were, needless to say, written by the authors themselves or sometimes by some later persons. Therefore these passages can be very important and useful materials for the study of the writing of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts themselves, yet they have no direct connection with their source materials and are of no use for the study of the chronology of the sources. Consequently the Sri Lankans referred to in these prefaces and afterwords should not be examined together with the other Sri Lankans in the main body of each text.

Another exceptional part is the *Bāhiraṇidāna* (Introduction) of the *Samantapāsādikā*, and specifically the *Ācariya-paramparā* (Succession of the Teachers) in it. The *Bāhiraṇidāna* is a rather unique section. As is well known, it is not an ordinary commentarial section on the canon, but it gives a chronicle of the dynasties and describes the early history of Buddhism in ancient Sri Lanka, which has some common content with the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*. It is regarded as having been derived from the same sources. In any case, the Sri Lankans referred to in the *Bāhiraṇidāna* as part of a historical statement, should not be treated in the same way as those in the other parts of the Aṭṭhakathās. Special treatment for each of these Sri Lankans in the *Bāhiraṇidāna* will be explained in detail later in the chapter of Conclusion. Besides the other portions of the *Bāhiraṇidāna*, specific attention must be paid to the *Ācariya-paramparā*. This is a record of the succession of the Vinaya from India to Sri Lanka. Its essential nature is the continuous transmission of the Vinaya from master to disciple. The majority of these Vinaya

masters are Sri Lankan elders. An attempt has been made by Dr. Adikaram to identify them with certain well-known eminent elders. However, his view is in contradiction to the essential nature of the *Ācariya-paramparā*, which is that the masters must be in chronological order. Prudent further search is, therefore, necessary in this matter, and a facile identification of the elders in the *Ācariya-paramparā* with those in other sources should be avoided. In any case, a chronological study of the Sihala sources should be done firstly on the basis of the dating of the Sri Lankans apart from those in the *Ācariya-paramparā*, and secondly the elders themselves in the *Ācariya-paramparā* should be compared carefully and identified with other elders in the other sources, bearing in mind its essential nature which was mentioned above.

[6] As has already been explained, the persons appearing in the Aṭṭhakathā texts can initially be classified into two groups: Sri Lankans and non-Sri Lankans (normally Indians). A few of them, however, are of unknown nationality. Such persons of unknown nationality are necessarily excluded from the present investigation. Their dates are usually ambiguous. Other classes of persons should also be excluded: there is a very close relation between the Aṭṭhakathā texts and some historical works such as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, but sometimes different statements about one and the same person can be found. It is of course necessary with respect to such persons to refer to the statements about them in these historical works. Yet those who are recorded only in the historical works cannot be included in the present investigation, although these records confirm that such Sri Lankans actually lived.

There are some Sri Lankans whose dwelling places, deeds, views, etc., are recorded in detail, but who remain anonymous. They also cannot be employed in the investigation. A good example is an unknown Sri Lankan whose record starts with the following passage: "Sihalaḍiḍe Kālagā-mavāsi amacco viya....." (SnA I-30). Those persons, however, whose names can be known from the comments of the Ṭikās can properly be made use of.

[7] As has already been explained, the chronology of the Sihalese kings is one of the most important parts of this study. It is the real key

to the dating of the persons under consideration. With regard to this chronology, W. Geiger's List of Sinhalese Kings which is contained in his English translation of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* published in 1929³⁾ has been adopted by many scholars. On the other hand, since his list appeared, several large or small emendations have been made to it, mainly by Sri Lankan scholars.⁴⁾ Of these various chronological lists of the Sinhalese kings, I adopt for the present study the most recent list by S. Paranavitana, which is given as a supplement to *A Concise History of Ceylon*, which he co-edited.⁵⁾ In cases where the dates of kings' reigns are left blank in this list, the corresponding dates in Geiger's list will be shown, if it seems necessary.

[8] To the best of my knowledge, the total number of Sri Lankans to be investigated amount to 188. They can be divided into two groups: datable (128) and undatable persons (60). These groups will be discussed in the following two independent chapters. The datable persons can be further classified by means of the dates of the kings in whose reigns particular individuals lived. As a general rule, the examination will be made reign by reign, but sometimes two or more reigns of kings who ascended the throne in succession or in parallel, are examined together as a single period. All these datable persons are grouped period by period; they are arranged in the Pāli alphabetical order of their name; and they are numbered continuously (Nos. 1-128) for the convenience of reference in the investigation. With respect to the undatable persons, their sources and other minimum information about them will be noted. They are also listed in their Pāli alphabetical order and are numbered continuously following the datable persons (Nos. 129-188).

Chapter II. Datable Sri Lankans: 128 persons

1. Before Devānampiyatissa-rāja (before B. C. 250)

No. 1 Vijaya-rāja

No. 2 Paṇḍuvāsadeva-rāja

No. 3 Abhaya-rāja

No. 4 Pakuṇḍakābhaya-rāja

No. 5 Muṭasīva-rāja

The names of the above five kings occur once together in the *Bāhira-nidāna* of the *Samantapāsādikā*.⁶⁾ In this passage, they are referred to as the first five kings of the Vijayan Dynasty and the dates of their reigns are given in comparison with the kings of Magadha headed by Ajātasattu. More detailed similar records are found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Ma-hāvaṃsa*,⁷⁾ but these are little more than a legend. Therefore the dates of these kings which were shown in Geiger's list remain blank in Paranavitana's list. In the latter list, the first king whose reigning date is given is Devānampiyatissa, a contemporary of King Asoka. However, the dates of the several kings succeeding Devānampiyatissa are again blank in Paranavitana's list. In any case, these five kings, except for Muṭasīva, are referred to only once in the passage mentioned above. Only Muṭasīva is mentioned at two other places in the *Bāhira-nidāna*. He is, however, recorded in these places merely as Devānampiyatissa's father, and no information is given about his own views and no stories are related about him. His reigning date is given as B. C. 307-247 in Geiger's list, whereas it is blank in Paranavitana's list, as mentioned above.

2. Period of Devānampiyatissa-rāja (B. C. 250—210)

No. 6 Anulāttheri (VA I-80ff., 90f.)

She was once the wife of Mahānāga who was the younger brother and sub-king of Devānampiyatissa (No. 16). She is mentioned as having entered the Order as a disciple of Saṅghamittattheri (No. 22), the founder of the Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha in ancient Sri Lanka, together with five hundred girls and five hundred court-ladies.⁸⁾ A similar story is also found in the *Mahāvamsā*.⁹⁾

No. 7 Abhayatthera (DA III-786; MA I-290; SA III-155; AA II-54; VibhA p. 275)

The passages of the story concerning him in the above sources are basically identical. The story describes him as the "upaṭṭhitasati-puggala" (person whose attention is concentrated), together with Tissadattatthera (No. 14). Tissadatta is considered to have lived in the late period of Devānampiyatissa and the periods of the two kings who succeeded him, i. e. Uttiya and Mahāsiva (the end of the third century B. C. to the first half of the second century B. C.). As Abhaya is listed after Tissadatta in the above story, the former is supposed to have been a younger contemporary of the latter. Malalasekera¹⁰⁾ assumed him to have been one of the three Abhayattheras, i. e. Mahāgatimba-Abhaya (No. 168), Dighabhāṇaka-Abhaya (No. 82), and Tipiṭaka-Cūla-Abhaya (No. 106). These three elders with the same basic name are enumerated in the passage which comments upon the word "upaṭṭhitasati" in DA (II-530).¹¹⁾

No. 8 Abhayarājakumāra (VA I-90)¹²⁾

According to the above source, he was the elder brother of King Devānampiyatissa.

No. 9 Ariṭṭhatthera (Mahā-Ariṭṭha VA I-82, 90, 101ff. Cf. Mhv chap. XI v. 20; XVI 10; XVIII 3; XIX 5, 12, 66; XX 54)

He was a nephew of King Devānampiyatissa (No. 16), and once work-

ed as Minister of the king. He became, later on, a disciple of Mahindatthera (No. 20) and seems to have gained Arahant-ship. He is recorded as having died in the reign of Uttiya, the king who succeeded Devānampiyatissa.

No. 10 Iddhiyatthera (Itṭhiya, Ittiya VA I-64, 69, 70, 72; DhsA p. 32. Cf. Dpv chap. XII v. 12; Mhv chap. XII v. 7)

He is mentioned as being one of the four elders who came to Sri Lanka on a Buddhist mission following Mahindatthera (No. 20). Therefore he lived in the reign of Devānampiyatissa.

No. 11 Uttiyatthera¹³⁾ (VA I-70. Cf. Dpv chap. XII v. 12; Mhv chap. XII v. 7f.)

He was one of the elders headed by Mahindatthera (No. 20), who came to Sri Lanka on a Buddhist mission in the period of Devānampiyatissa.

No. 12 Kālasumanatthera (VA I-104)

According to the above source, he was a disciple of Mahā-Ariṭṭhatthera (No. 9), together with Tissadatta (No. 14) and Dighasumana (No. 15). As Mahā-Ariṭṭha seems to have died in the late period of King Uttiya (B. C. 207-197 acc. to Geiger), the successor to Devānampiyatissa,¹⁴⁾ Kālasumana himself, as being his disciple, probably was active in the late period of Devānampiyatissa and the reigns of Uttiya and Mahāsiva (B. C. 197-187 acc. to Geiger).

No. 13 Tissa-daharabhikkhu (VA VII-1336)

He had some connection with the Jambukola (-vihāra) : he was perhaps a resident in the monastery. In the above source, Tissadatta (No. 14) is also mentioned, so that he can be assumed to have been contemporaneous with Tissadatta.

No. 14 Tissadattatthera (Vis II-403; VA I-104; DA III-786; MA I-290; SA III-155; AA II-54; VibhA pp. 275, 387, 389. Cf. VA I-62)

Among the above sources, VA (I-104) states that he was a disciple of

Mahā-Ariṭṭhatthera (No. 9), along with Kāḷasumana (No. 12) and Dighasumana (No. 15). As has been explained above with reference to Kāḷasumana, Tissadatta, as being Mahā-Ariṭṭha's disciple, can be supposed to have lived in the late period of Devānampiyatissa and the reigns of Uttiya and Mahāsiva.

No. 15 Dighasumanatthera (VA I-104)

He is mentioned only once in the *Bāhiranidāna* of VA as shown above. He is referred to there as one of the disciples of Mahā-Ariṭṭha (No. 9), together with Kāḷasumanatthera (No. 12) and Tissadattatthera (No. 14). As has been explained above with reference to his fellow disciples, he seems to have been active in the period covering the late years of Devānampiyatissa and the two following reigns. There is a possibility that he is identical with an undatable elder with a similar name, Dighasumma (No. 155). This point will be further discussed later when dealing with the latter person.

No. 16 Devānampiyatissarāja (VA I-69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 84, 91, 98, 102)

He was a contemporary of King Asoka, and very famous as the Sri Lankan king who officially accepted Buddhism from India for the first time. The date of his reign is "B. C. 250-210" in Paranavitana's list, which is earlier than that in Geiger's list by three years.

No. 17 Bhaṇḍuka-upāsaka (VA I-71. Cf. Dpv chap. XII, vv. 26, 39, 62f.; Mhv chap. XIII, vv. 16, 18)

He was a follower of the Buddhist mission headed by Mahindatthera (No. 20), who came from India to Sri Lanka in the reign of Devānampiyatissa. He is mentioned as having entered the Order in Sri Lanka, and as having gained Arahanth-ship.

No. 18 Bhaddasālātthera (VA I-64, 70. Cf. Dpv chap. XII, v. 12; Mhv chap. XII, v. 7 f.)

He was one of the elders who came from India to Sri Lanka following Mahindatthera (No. 20) in the reign of Devānampiyatissa.

No. 19 Mattābhayātthera (VA I-103. Cf. Mhv chap. XVII, vv. 57ff.)
He was a younger brother (kaniṭṭhabhātar) of King Devānampiyatissa.

No. 20 (Mahā)-Mahindatthera (VA I-50, 51, 52, 62, 64, 69, 70, 71, 73, 79, 80, 83, 84, 86, 90, 91, 100, 102, 103; DA I-131; SA III-143; Dhpa I-100; ItvA II-84, 154; ApA p. 9)

It is a well-known historical event that Mahindatthera, who is regarded as a son (or a younger brother) of King Asoka, officially transmitted Buddhism to Sri Lanka in the reign of Devānampiyatissa. The year of his death is considered to have been in the eighth year of the reign of King Uttiya, the successor to Devānampiyatissa, i. e. at the end of the third century B. C.¹⁵⁾

No. 21 Meghavaṇṇābhaya-amacca (VA I-102)

According to the above source, which is the only one concerning him, Devānampiyatissa built, at a place where Meghavaṇṇābhaya's residence had once existed, an assembly hall (maṇḍapa) like the one that King Ajātasattu had constructed for the Great Convocation. It is certain, consequently, that Meghavaṇṇābhaya was a Minister (amacca) of Devānampiyatissa. According to Mhv (XXXVII, 17 ff.), there lived another Minister with the same name in the reign of Mahāsena. He is of course a different person from the Meghavaṇṇābhaya under consideration.

No. 22 Saṅghamittāttheri (VA I-51, 52, 55, 69, 90, 91, 97, 100, 101. Cf. Mhv chap. XX, vv. 48-52)

Legend has it that she was a daughter of King Asoka, and also a sister of Mahindatthera (No. 20). Moreover, she is very famous as the founder of the Bhikkhuni Saṅgha in ancient Sri Lanka in the reign of Devānampiyatissa. According to Mhv, she died in the ninth year of Uttiya, the king who succeeded Devānampiyatissa, i. e. at the end of the third century B. C.

No. 23 Sambalatthera (VA I-64, 70. Cf. Dpv chap. XII, v. 12; Mhv

chap. XII, v. 7f.)

He was a member of the Buddhist mission headed by Mahindatthera (No. 20), who came to Sri Lanka in the reign of Devānampiyatissa.

No. 24 Sumana-sāmaṇera (VA I-69, 71, 78, 83f., 91, 96, 98 f. Cf. Dpv chap. XII, v. 12; Mhv chap. XIII, vv. 4, 18, etc.)

He is regarded as a son of Saṅghamittā (No. 22), and was a member of the party led by Mahindatthera (No. 20), which came to Sri Lanka on a Buddhist mission during the reign of Devānampiyatissa.

3. Period of Eḷāra-rāja (B. C. —161) and Kākavaṇṇatissa-rāja (B. C. —161)

Eḷāra was a Dravidian king who ruled the Northern part of Sri Lanka, living in Anurādhapura, the then capital. He died in B. C. 161 in the battle against King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (No. 37), who attacked Anurādhapura from the Southern region in order to drive out the Dravidians from there. Although the date of his reign is blank in Paranavitana's list, it can be dated as "B. C. —161". King Kākavaṇṇatissa was not the ruler of the whole island either, but a local king who lived in Mahāgāma, the local capital of the Southern area. He governed this area only. He was the father of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Saddhātissa. However, the date of his enthronement is unknown. His death at the age of sixty-four, i. e. the end of his reign, is considered to have been in B. C. 161, just before Duṭṭhagāmaṇi marched from Mahāgāma to Anurādhapura. Therefore Eḷāra and Kākavaṇṇatissa were contemporaneous kings who ruled the North and the South of the country respectively. The persons belonging to this period will be investigated separately in relation to each king.

(1) Period of Eḷāra-rāja

No. 25 Dighajantu- (or **Dighajanta-**) **Damiḷa** (MA IV-234; AA II-230 f. Cf. Mhv chap. XXV, vv. 54, 58ff., 76)

The passages in MA and AA shown above are the same. His date cannot be known from them. According to Mhv given above, he, as a Damiḷa, was the best warrior (yodha) of King Eḷāra, and fell, following his master in B. C. 161, on the battle field against Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's army.

(2) Period of Kākavaṇṇatissa-rāja

No. 26 Ayyamittatthera (or **Mahāmittatthera** DA III-790 f.; MA I-294 f.; SA III-159; AA II-59 f.; VibhA p. 279)

He was a resident of Kassakaleṇa, and was also called Mahāmitta. Among the above sources which are basically identical, only AA has the passage "Mahāmittattherassa viya Piṇḍapāṭiyatissattherassa viya ca," which is followed by the stories about Mahāmitta and Piṇḍapāṭiyatissa (No. 29). As the latter person was a contemporary of King Kākavaṇṇatissa, the former is deduced to have also lived in the same king's reign.

No. 27 Kākavaṇṇatissa-rāja (AA II-64. Cf. Dpv chap. XVIII, v. 20; IXX, 20; XX, 1; Mhv XXII, 1ff.)

As far as the Aṭṭhakathā texts are concerned, he occurs only at the one place shown above. But he is referred to in detail in Dpv and Mhv. He was a great grandson of Mahānāga, younger brother of Devānampiyatissa, and lived in Mahāgāma as the local king of the Rohaṇa area, the Southern part of ancient Sri Lanka.¹⁶⁾ Consequently his name cannot be found in the chronological list of the Sinhalese kings. His sons, however, were Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (No. 37) and Saddhātissa (No. 69), who became in succession kings of the whole country, residing in Anurādhapura. He passed away in B. C. 161 at the age of sixty-four.¹⁷⁾

No. 28 Dārubaṇḍaka-Mahātissatthera (AA II-60ff.)

He is described only once in the above source. The story about him is six pages long: it tells of an offering made by him, as a poor wood-seller. In this story, Ambariyavihāravāsi-Piṇḍapāṭiyatissatthera (No. 29) accepted his offering, and then Kākavaṇṇatissa praised him at the end of the story, which proves that he lived in this king's reign.

No. 29 Piṇḍapāṭiya-Tissatthera (AA II-60ff.)

He was a resident of Ambariyavihāra and is referred to only once in the above source. Here in this story, King Kākavaṇṇatissa also appears: he must have been contemporaneous with him.

4. Period of Duṭṭhāgamaṇi (B. C. 161—137)**No. 30 Anulatthera** (DhpA IV-50f.)

In the above source, not only he but also Sumanā (No. 66), wife of Lakunṭaka-Atimbara who was a Minister of Duṭṭhāgamaṇi appears: he can be regarded as living in this king's reign.

No. 31 Asubhakammika-Tissatthera (or **Mahā-Tissatthera** Vis I-20; DA III-778; MA I-282; SA III-165; AA I-47; JA III-534; ItA II-179; VibhA p. 270)

Among the above sources, DA, MA, SA, AA, and VibhA agree with each other; ItA is almost identical with them. According to these, he was a person who practised the meditation on impurity (Asubhakammika). DAT¹⁸ and MAT¹⁸ comment upon him as follows:—

Asubhakammika-Tissatthero daṇṭaṭṭhidassāvī.

(Impurity-meditator Tissatthera is a person looking at a tooth-bone.)

On the other hand, in Vis, etc.¹⁹ (Mahā)Tissatthera, an incumbent of Cetiyaṇṇabata, is mentioned as a person, looking at a female tooth-bone, who meditated on impurity to gain Arahant-ship. The above Asubhakammika-Tissa and (Mahā)Tissa seem to have been identical.

In MhvṬ (II-553), however, the following passage is found:

Taṃ samipe ṭhito Rohaṇajanapade Mahāgāmasamipe Koṭapabbatavihāravāsī Asubhakammikatissattherassa upajjhāyo Mahātissatthero....

From this passage, it is clear that Mahā-Tissatthera was an incumbent of Koṭapabbatavihāra near Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa district, and the preceptor of Asubhakammika-Tissa. If we compare this statement of MhvṬ with those of the other sources, the following suggestions can be made:—

- 1) Asubhakammika-Tissa was an incumbent of Cetiyaṇṇabata and was called Mahā-Tissa, while his preceptor was an incumbent of Koṭapabbatavihāra in Rohaṇa and was also called Mahā-Tissa.
- 2) If it is to be doubted that the preceptor and the disciple were both called by the same name, Mahā-Tissa, then Tissa as an incumbent of Cetiyaṇṇabata would be Asubhakammika-Tissa; another Tissa as an incumbent of Koṭapabbatavihāra would be Mahā-Tissa.
- 3) The Mahā-Tissa referred to in Vis etc.²⁰ was an incumbent of Cetiyaṇṇabata, and his disciple was Asubhakammika-Tissa: both, preceptor and disciple alike, practised the meditation on impurity.

In any case, there must have been some confusion in the information available about these two Tissas.

Furthermore, Mahā-Tissa is mentioned in MhvṬ (II-553) as the person who told Ambapāsāṇavāsī-Cittaguttatthera that the sermon on the *Rathavinītasuttanta* and the description of the Dhātunidhāna of the Mahācetiya, which were given in the Lohapāsāda by Cittagutta to 12,000 monks and nuns, were not full enough. This account was given when the Mahā Thūpa was completed under the patronage of Duṭṭhāgamaṇi: Cittagutta and Mahā-Tissa were certainly contemporaneous with this king.

Consequently, we can conclude that Asubhakammika-Tissa as a disciple of the above Mahā-Tissa (quite probably younger than his preceptor) also lived in the reign of the same king, and presumably he lived until the following reign, i. e. that of Saddhātissa.

No. 32 Kujja- (or Khuddaka-)Tissatthera (AA II-247)

He was named Maṅgaṇavāsī-Kujjatissa and became an Arahant. The above source gives the story of King Saddhātissa and himself: he must have lived in this king's reign. (He is described as having died during the reign.) While an elder named Khudda(ka)tissa who resided at the same Maṅgaṇa is mentioned in Mhv and JA²¹ as having been offered a special meal by Duṭṭhāgamaṇi and also as having been one of the elders who came late to the meetings held at the five places such as Kuddāḷa. Because of the similarity of their names, i. e. Khujjatissa (Humpbacked

Tissa) and Khudda(ka)tissa (Little Tissa), and of the identity of their residences, these two Tissas can be regarded as one and the same. Malasekera and Adikaram had the same view.²²⁾ In short, he was active in the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Saddhātissa.

No. 33 Kuṭumbiyaputta-(Mahā-)tissatthera (Vis I-48 ; SA II-295 ; AA I-49. Cf. Mhv chap. XXIV, vv. 16 ff. ; XXXII, 55 ; MhvT II-598)

According to the above Mhv, when Duṭṭhagāmaṇi intended to offer food to the Order on the occasion of his running away from the battle of Cūlaṅganiyapiṭṭhi against Saddhātissa and made a proclamation about it, it was this Kuṭumbiyaputta(Mahā)tissa who was sent there by Gotamattthera who heard the proclamation with his heavenly ear at Piyaṅgu Island. There is a story very similar to this in AA (II-212 ff.). Yet in this story, it is not Kuṭumbiyaputta(Mahā)tissa, but Bodhimātu-Mahātissa (No. 45), who heard the proclamation and flew over to that place. There is also another Kuṭumbiyaputtatissatthera who lived in Sāvattḥi at the time of the Buddha.²³⁾ He is of course different from the person with the same name under discussion. The latter can be regarded as living in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

No. 34 Cūlapiṇḍapātika-Tissatthera (AA I-36)

He was a resident of Gāmeṇḍavālavihāra in Rohaṇa district. Vis and MA refer to a person with the same name whose residence is unknown²⁴⁾ : there is the possibility that these two persons with the same name are identical. On the other hand, there is another elder who was called Girivihāravāsi-Cūlapiṇḍapātika-Tissatthera (No. 146) : there is also the possibility that this person is also the same as the elder under discussion. The Cūlapiṇḍapātika-Tissa now in question made Milakkhatissa (No. 59) enter the Order. The latter probably lived in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, so that the former as his preceptor must have lived at the same time. This preceptor dwelling in Rohaṇa seems to have been called "Cūlapiṇḍapātika-Tissatthera" in comparison with Piṇḍapātiya-Tissatthera (No. 29) who lived at Ambariyavihāra also in Rohaṇa in the reign of Kākavaṇṇatissa, father of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi : Cūlapiṇḍapātika-Tissa must have been

younger than Piṇḍapātiya-Tissa.

No. 35 Cūlasumanatthera (Vis II-634 ; VibhA p. 489)

He was called Nikapeṇṇakapadhānagharavāsi-Cūlasumana. The Nikapeṇṇakapadhānaghara was on Cittalapabbata. According to the above sources, which are the same, he is listed as one of the persons who wrongly understood themselves to be Arahants, because their lust, which was being suppressed by the power of meditation, had not arisen : the others were Uccavālikavāsi-Mahānāgattthera (No. 50) and Haṅkaṇakavāsi-Mahādattatthera (No. 48). It is mentioned that the above Mahānāga was the preceptor of Dhammadinnatthera, a resident of Taḷaṅgaratissapabbata (No. 38), by whose effort the preceptor finally attained Arahant-ship. MA (I-184f.) relates that this Dhammadinna led two elders who, owing to their arrogance, had wrongly understood themselves to be Arahants, to true Arahant-ship. This passage does not make clear the names of these two elders, but only mentions them as follows : — "one great elder in the Monastery of Haṅkaṇa" (Haṅkaṇavihāre eko mahātthero) and "a similar elder on Mount Cittala" (Cittalapabbate tādiso thero). These two anonymous elders, however, must have been the Haṅkaṇakavāsi-Mahādattatthera mentioned above and the Nikapeṇṇakapadhānagharavāsi-Cūlasumana on Cittalapabbata under consideration. Thus we can conclude that the elder under consideration was a contemporary of the above Dhammadinna, who lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

No. 36 Tissa-amacca (AA II-212. Cf. Mhv chap. XXIV, vv. 20ff.)

According to the above sources, he was an attendant (cūlhupaṭṭhāka) of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and when his king was defeated by Saddhātissa in the battle of Cūlaṅgaṇiya(-piṭṭhi), he alone followed his king in his escape from the field. Therefore it is certain that he lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.²⁵⁾

No. 37 Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhayarāja (VA I-102 ; DA II-640 ; AA II-212, 379 ; SnA I-71 ; DhA IV-50 ; JA II-414 ; CNdA p. 112 ; ApA p. 157 ; DhsA p. 80. Cf. Dpv chap. XVIII, v. 53 ; XIX, 1ff. ; Mhv chaps. XXII-

XXXII)

He is well-known as one of the greatest kings in ancient Sri Lanka, who retook the capital of Anurādhapura from the Dravidian forces and who built the Lohapāsāda, Mahāthūpa, etc. there. The date of his reign is B. C. 161-137.

No. 38 Dhammadinnatthera (Vis II-392, 634f. ; MA I-184 ; AA I-42f. ; VibhA pp. 389, 489. Cf. Mhv chap. XXXII, vv. 29f., 52 ; MhvṬ II-606)

The name of his residence varies and is not identical in the above sources, of which the passages of Vis (II-634 f.) and VibhA are the same. According to Mhv, he was one of the five great elders who were offered a special meal by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at the time of the Akkhakkhāyika Famine; and according to MhvṬ, he was also one of the elders who were offered a meal by Prince Sāli, son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, in the prince's previous life. The latter story also suggests that he was contemporaneous with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Sāli.

No. 39 Dhammapadabhāṇaka-Mahātissatthera (DhpA IV-51)

He was an inhabitant of Maṇḍalārāma, and is referred to only once in the above source, from which it is clear that he lived at the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He is entirely different from Maṇḍalārāma(ka)-vihāra-vāsi-(Mahā-)Tissatthera (No. 91), who lived in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 40 Nandimitta- (or Nandhimitta-)tthera (DA I-90 ; MA III-223. Cf. Mhv chap. XXIII, vv. 2 ff. ; XXV, 21ff.)

The above passages concerning him in DA and MA are the same, and give no information about his date. Mhv states that he was one of the ten great warriors (mahā-yodha) of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, who were brave in the battle against King Eḷāra's army. His date is approximately the same as that of his king.

No. 41 Paṭhavicāḷaka-Dhammaguttatthera (JA IV-490. Cf. Mhv chap. XXXII, v. 50 ; MhvṬ II-606)

According to the above Mhv, he was one of the elders who were offer-

ed a special meal by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi on the occasion of the severe famine occurring in his reign : he was therefore a contemporary of this king. Cf. No. 44 Phussadevatthera.

No. 42 Pitamallatthera (DA III-748 ; MA I-234 ; SA II-295 ; AA I-49)²⁶⁾

Among these sources, DA and MA are identical. In SA he is referred to together with Kuṭumbiyaputta-Mahātissatthera (No. 33) ; and in AA he is also referred to together with him and two other elders, Milakkatissa (No. 59) and Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsiva (No. 57). Of these four persons, Mahātissa and Mahāsiva can be proved to have lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi : the other two including the person now in question can be regarded as having lived in the same reign.

No. 43 Punabbasukuṭumbikaputta-Tissatthera (VibhA p. 389)

According to this single source, he went to the other side of the sea, i. e. to India, and was taught by Yonaka-Dhammarakkhitatthera (No. 60). The Dhammarakkhita is mentioned as one of the elders who attended the ceremony at the completion of the Mahā Thūpa in Anurādhapura at the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi : the Tissa under discussion was therefore also active in this reign.

No. 44 Phussadevatthera (Vis I-228 ; JA IV-490, VI-30)

He was an incumbent of Kaṭakandhakāra. JA (IV-490) states that the following seven theras including him came late to the meetings held at Kuddāla and four other places :

- (1) Paṭhavicāḷaka-Dhammagutta
- (2) Kaṭakandhakāravāsi-Phussadeva
- (3) Uparimaṇḍalakamalayavāsi-Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita
- (4) Maliya-Mahādeva
- (5) Bhaggirivāsi-Mahādeva
- (6) Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsiva
- (7) Kāḷavallimaṇḍapavāsi-Mahānāga

Of these seven, the fourth is recorded as being one of the five elders

who were specifically offered a meal by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi on the occasion of the Akkhakkhāyika famine. Furthermore, the first, fourth, and seventh are also described as elders who were offered a meal by Sāli, son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in his previous life history.²⁷⁾ Since the fourth appears in both these stories, all the theras in both of them can be regarded as contemporaneous with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

On the other hand, JA (VI-30) also relates a similar story to the above, which must have been derived from the same source. It lists the following seven elders as those who were late for the meetings held at five places, four of which are identical with four of the five in the above story:

- (a) Maṅgaṇavāsi-Khuddakatissa
- (b) Mahāvamsaka
- (c) Kaṭakandhakāravāsi-Phussadeva
- (d) Uparimaṇḍakamālavāsi-Mahā-Rakkhita
- (e) Bhaggarivāsi-Mahātissa
- (f) Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsiva
- (g) Kāḷavelavāsi-Mahā-Maliyadeva

If we compare these two lists, we can see that four theras in the first list are basically identical with four in the second list [(2) = (c), (3) = (d), (4) = (g), and (6) = (f)], and probably a fifth is also the same [(5) = (e)]. Then thera (a) is listed in the *Mahāvamsa*²⁸⁾ as one of the theras who were offered a meal by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi during the famine. Consequently the four persons who can be dated here, i. e. (1), (4) = (g), (7), and (a), can all be considered as belonging to the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Therefore the remaining five including the Phussadevatthera under consideration [(b), (2) = (c), (3) = (d), (5) = (e), (6) = (f)] can also be deduced as being contemporaries of the same king.

No. 45 Bodhimātu-Mahātissatthera (AA II-213. Cf. Mhv chap. XXIV, vv. 16 ff.; XXXII, 55)

According to the above AA, he was the elder who heard with the heavenly ear the proclamation of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's offer of a meal and flew

over to the place of proclamation. In the above Mhv, however, it is not he but Kuṭumbiyaputta-(Mahā)-tissa (No. 33) who flew there. These two Mahātissas can be considered either as one and the same person or as two different persons who were confused because they had the identical basic name. I regard them as different.

No. 46 Maliya-(Mahā)-devatthera

His name, referred to in several sources, varies as follows:—

- Māliyadeva (MA V-101; AA I-38)
- Kāḷavelavāsi-Mahā-Maliyadeva (JA VI-30)
- Maliya-Mahādeva (or Mālāya-Mahādeva, JA IV-490)
- Malayavāsi-Mahādeva (Vis I-241; VibhA p. 224)
- Malaya-Mahādeva (Mhv chap. XXXII, v. 49)
- Koṭapabbatavāsika Malaya-Mahādeva (MhvT II-605)

Putting all these names together, we can deduce that he was a (Mahā)-devatthera who lived at Koṭapabbata (in Rohaṇa) or Kāḷavela and who came from Malaya (Maliya) district. As is explained in the item of Phussadevatthera (No. 44), he lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

No. 47 Mahātissatthera (AA I-42 f.)

He is mentioned in the above source as an elder who was the teacher of meditation (kammaṭṭhāna-ācariya) of Talaṅgaravāsi-Dhammadinnatthera (No. 38) and who finally attained Arahant-ship at the age of sixty with his disciple's assistance. As the disciple lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the teacher, probably older than the disciple, can also be considered as living in the same reign.

No. 48 Mahādattatthera (Vis II-634; VibhA p. 489)

He was an inhabitant of Haṅkaṇaka. As has been examined in the item of Cūlasumanatthera (No. 35). "eko mahātthero" in the Haṅkaṇavihāra recorded in MA (I-184) should be identified with him, because of the content of the story. This mahātthera is described to have been taught by Talaṅgaratissapabbatavāsi-Dhammadinnatthera (No. 38): he must have been contemporaneous with Dhammadinna who lived in the reign

of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

No. 49 Mahādeva (or Mahātissa)-tthera (JA IV-490; VI-30)

As has been explained in detail in the item of Phussadevatthera (No. 44), the above two sources in the same text record slightly different names for the identical person: JA (IV-490) names him as Bhaggirivāsi-Mahādeva, and JA (VI-30) as Bhaggirivāsi-Mahātissa. This person is mentioned equally in these sources as one of the elders who came late to the meetings held at Kuddāla and four other places. These meetings are concluded to have been held in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

No. 50 Mahānāgattthera (Vis II-634; AA I-50; VibhA p. 489)

He was called Uccavālikavāsi-Mahānāga. Of the above three sources, Vis and VibhA are identical. According to them, he was a teacher of Talaṇṇagaravāsi-Dhammadinnatthera (No. 38), who lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi: Mahānāga was also active in the same reign.

No. 51 Mahānāgattthera (DA II-558 f.; AA IV-155)

He is named as "Sāmuddika-Mahānāga" in the above DA, and as "Sāmuddakavihāravāsi-Mahānāga" in MhvṬ (II-605 f.). Both in the above DA and AA, we can see a passage, "...Mahānāgatttherassa bhāgineyyo Saṅgharakkhita-sāmaṇero viya paṭhaviṃ kampeti." This shows that he was an uncle of Saṅgharakkhita-sāmaṇera (No. 63). According to the above MhvṬ, he is linked with the previous life story of Prince Sāli, son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi: Sāli, when he was a smith called Tissa in his previous life, offered a special meal to eight virtuous elders including this Mahānāga. In spite of the doubt of the historicity of this story, it is certain that he was closely connected with the legend of Sāli, therefore he can be regarded as being a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Sāli.

No. 52 Mahānāgattthera (DA I-190 f.; MA I-258 f.; SA III-187 f.; AA II-246; JA IV-490; SnA I-56 f.; ApA p. 146 f.; DhsA p. 399; VibhA p. 352 f.)

He was a resident of Kāḷavallimaṇḍapa in Rohaṇa district of the

Southern area. Of the above sources, DA, MA, SnA, ApA, and VibhA are basically identical, and give us no information about his date. MhvṬ (II-606) states, however, that he was one of the eight elders who were offered a special meal by Prince Sāli, son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in Sāli's previous life. Moreover, as has been investigated in the item of Phussadevatthera (No. 44), he is listed as one of the seven elders who were behind time at the five meetings in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Thus it can be deduced that he was contemporaneous with the king and the prince.

No. 53 Mahā-Phussa(deva)-tthera (DA I-189 f.; MA I-257 f., II-369; SA III-187; SnA I-55 f.; ApA p. 145 f.; VibhA p. 352)

He was called Ālindika (or Ālindaka) vāsi-Mahā-Phussa(deva). Among the above sources, DA, SA, MA (I-257 f.), and VibhA are identical not only with his story itself, but also with the passages of about twenty pages altogether which precede and follow it. It is stated that he practised the *gataṭaccāgatavatta* for nineteen years and finally attained to Arahanthship. Following this story concerning him, a story of Kāḷavallimaṇḍapavāsi-Mahānāgattthera (No. 52) occurs in all the above six sources. It relates that he also became an Arahant after continuing the same practice for sixteen years. These two elders' practices are thus taken up together for the example of the *gataṭaccāgatavatta*. I consider, in such a case, that they were contemporary. If this is so, as Mahānāga was active in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as described before, Mahā-Phussa(deva) now in question seems to have lived in the same period.

No. 54 Mahāvamsakatthera (JA VI-30)

An investigation about him has been made in the item of Phussadevatthera (No. 44). He was one of the seven elders who came late to the five meetings held at Kuddāla, etc. Of these seven, all the elders except him are referred to by their basic names, prefixed by the names of their living places (quite probably those of their monasteries). In addition, the corresponding story to the one above in the same text (JA IV-490) does not include his name or any similar one to his, despite the fact that most of the remaining names have their corresponding names in the other

source. Perhaps owing to this textual fact, the editor of JA of the PTS edition regarded this name not as an individual proper name, but as a prefix to the following name, i. e. "Mahāvamsakatthero Kaṭakandhakāravāsi Phussadevatthero." However, we cannot find any other instance of the same kind. Moreover, if "Mahāvamsakatthera" were not the name of a person, no one would be able to understand what it was. I consider, therefore, that "Mahāvamsaka" must be the name of an elder. If this is so, the number of elders referred to in JA (VI-30) becomes seven, that is the same as that of elders listed in the other source of the same text (JA IV-490). In any case, Mahāvamsakatthera under consideration lived in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. just like all the other elders in these sources.

No. 55 Mahāvyaggatthera (AA II-247)

He appeared in this source as a contemporary of Saddhātissa (No. 69). He is also mentioned in Mhv (chap. XXXII vv. 29 f., 49-54) as one of the five elders who were served a special meal by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi on the occasion of a heavy famine. Consequently he is regarded as having lived in the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his successor, Saddhātissa.

No. 56 Mahā-Saṅgharakkhitatthera (JA IV-490; VI-30)

He was a different person from Malayavāsi-Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita (No. 95), and was named Uparimaṇḍalakamalayavāsi-Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita. He has been examined already in the item of Phussadevatthera (No. 44): he is referred to as one of the theras who came late to the five meetings held at Kuddāla, etc. in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He was a contemporary of this king.

No. 57 Mahāsivatthera (DA III-727 f.; MA V-23; AA I-40, 49; JA IV-490, VI-30)

As many Mahāsivattheras with various names prefixed (or with none prefixed) are referred to in the Aṭṭhakathā texts, their identification is rather difficult but necessary. I have already studied this matter in detail.²⁹⁾ Mahāsiva discussed here is one of these Mahāsivas, i. e. Gāman-

tapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsiva. As examined in my above article, "Vāmanta-pabbhāravāsi-" read in the passages of JA should be corrected to "Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-" like a variant from a manuscript given in the footnote of JA (IV-490). He is mentioned as one of the elders being late for the meetings held at five places in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He seems to have been called Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsiva in order to discriminate him from an elder named Bhātivaṅkara-Mahāsiva who also lived in the same king's period.

No. 58 Mātulatthera (DhsA p. 347; VibhA p. 389)

The above VibhA states that Suddhamma-sāmaṇera (No. 64), who was a nephew of Talaṅgaravāsi-Dhammadinnatthera (No. 38), a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, attended the meeting to discriminate the truth (*dhammavinicchayaṭṭhāna*) held by Mātulatthera and showed his adequate knowledge of the canon to the participants. From this passage. it can be deduced that Mātula was active in the time of the same king.

No. 59 Milakkha-(Mahā-)Tissatthera (SA I-332; AA I-35, 49; SnA I-236. Cf. SA II-273 f.)

Of the above sources, SA (I-332) and SnA are identical. An elder named Milakkhatthera (not Milakkha-Mahā-Tissa) appears only in SA (II-273 f.), but he must be the same as Milakkha-Mahā-Tissa. In the passage of AA (I-49), which explains the *āraddhaviriya*, the following four elders are referred to: (1) Milakkha-Tissa, (2) Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsiva (No. 57), (3) Pitamallakatthera (No. 42), (4) Kuṭumbiyaputtatissa (No. 33). Among these four, it has been concluded from certain evidence that the second and fourth lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Accordingly, it can be deduced that the elder in question was contemporaneous with the same king.

No. 60 Yonaka-(Mahā-)Dhammarakkhitatthera (VibhA p. 389. Cf. Mhv chap. XXIX v. 39)

Two Yonaka-Dhammarakkhitattheras lived in ancient India: one was a disciple of Assaguttatthera and also the master of Tissatthera, brother

of King Asoka. He was sent by Asoka on a Buddhist mission to Aparantaka Country ; he had no relation with Sri Lanka. The other elder with the same name was, according to Mhv shown above, a person who visited Sri Lanka from Alasandā of Yonaka together with thirty thousand monks in order to join the celebration of completion of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In addition, it is the same Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita who taught Punabbasukuṭumbikaputta-Tissa who came from Sri Lanka to India. Of course it cannot be considered that an elder who had gone to Aparanta in the reign of Asoka, taught a monk coming over from Sri Lanka. In the period of Asoka, needless to say, Buddhism was transmitted from India for the first time to Sri Lanka, so that it can hardly be thought that a Sri Lankan monk went to India to study Buddhism as easily as the Asokan age. The thera under consideration, in any case, can be concluded to have been a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

No. 61 Lakunṭaka-Atimbara-amacca (DhpA IV-50 f.)

According to the above source, he was a minister (*amacca*) of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

No. 62 Vanavāsi-Mahātissatthera (DA I-190 ; MA I-258 ; SA III-187 ; SnA I-55 f. ; ApA p. 146 ; VibhA p. 352)

The passages concerning him in the above sources are all basically identical. According to them, he was a friend of Ālindika-Mahā-Phussa-(deva)tthera (No. 53). Mahā-Phussa is regarded as being a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi : Mahātissa in this item also seems to have lived in the same king's period.

No. 63 Saṅgharakkhita-sāmaṇera (AA IV-115)

He was a different person from the one with the same name (No. 101), who was a nephew of Saṅgharakkhitatthera (No. 100). Yet he was a nephew of Sāmuḍdika(vihāravāsi)-Mahānāgattthera (No. 51). As his uncle lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. he can himself be considered as a younger contemporary of the same king.

No. 64 Suddhamma-sāmaṇera (VibhA p. 389)

The above source states that he was a nephew of Talaṅgaravāsi-Dhammadinnatthera (No. 38), who lived in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi : he also lived in the same period.

No. 65 Sumana (DhpA IV-50 f.)

He is described in the above source as being a man of property, who dwelt in a village named Bhokkanta in the Southern area. As his daughter, Sumanā (No. 66) became the wife of Lakunṭaka-Atimbara, a minister (*amacca*) of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (No. 61), he must also have lived in this king's period.

No. 66 Sumanā (DhpA IV-50 f.)

According to this source, she was once born as a young sow (*sūkara-potikā*) in the time of Gotama Buddha. After several rebirths, she was again born as a daughter of Sumana (No. 65) in Bhokkanta Village in South Sri Lanka, and later became the wife of Lakunṭaka-Atimbara, a minister of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi : she is certain to have lived in the reign of this king.

Abbreviations

References to Pāli texts refer to the Pali Text Society's editions unless otherwise specified below.

AA	Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā
ApA	Apadānaṭṭhakathā
CNda	Culla-Niddesaṭṭhakathā
DA	Dīghaṭṭhakathā
DAṬ	Dīghaṭṭhakathāṭīkā
DhpA	Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā
DhsA	Dhammasaṅgaṇi-aṭṭhakathā
DPPN	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names (n. 10)
Dpv	Dīpavaṃsa

ItA	Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā
JA	Jātakatṭhakathā
MA	Majjhimaṭṭhakathā
MAT	Majjhimaṭṭhakathāṭikā (Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition)
Mhv	Mahāvamsa
MhvṬ	Mahāvamsaṭikā
Nanden	Nanden Daizōkyō : Japanese translation series of the Pāli Tīpiṭaka and some other Pāli texts, Tokyo 1935-41
SA	Samyuttaṭṭhakathā
SnA	Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā
VA	Vinayaṭṭhakathā
VibhA	Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā
Vis	Visuddhimagga
VisṬ	Visuddhimaggaṭikā : Paramatthamañjūsā (Buddhaghosācariya's Visuddhimaggo with Paramatthamañjūsāṭikā of Bhadantācariya Dhammapāla, ed. by Badari Nath Shukla, revised by Rewata-dhamma 3 vols., Varanasi 1969-71)

Notes

- 1) This is a revised and abridged translation of Part II of my Japanese book entitled, *Pāli Bukkyō Chūshaku-bunken no Kenkyū : Atṭhakathā no Jyōzabuteki Yōsō* (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries : Theravādic aspects of the Atṭhakathās) Tokyo : Sankibō, 1984, pp. 309-466.
- 2) E. W. Adikaram : *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1946.
- 3) W. Geiger, tr. : *Cūḷavamsa*, London 1929, pt. II, pp. VIII-XV.
- 4) Cf. S. Mori : "Review of Friedgard Lottermoser's *Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa : contributions towards the study of the lost Sihalaṭṭhakathā literature*, Göttingen 1982" (*Bukkyō Kenkyū*, or *Buddhist Studies*, Hamamatsu Japan Vol. XV, pp. 137-139).
- 5) C. W. Nicholas, S. Paranavitana : *University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon*, Colombo 1961, pp. 341-346.
- 6) VA I-72.
- 7) Dpv chap. IX, vv. 37 ff., X, 1 ff. ; Mhv chaps VII-XI.
- 8) Cf. H. C. Roy, &c. : *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, Colombo 1959, Vol. I pt. 1, p. 139.

- 9) Mhv chap. XIX, v. 65.
- 10) G. P. Malalasekera : *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London 1960, Vol. I, p. 129, q. v. Abhaya (4).
- 11) DAṬ (II-410) mentions that "Abhayatthero ti Dattābhayattheram āha."
- 12) Cf. H. C. Roy, &c. : *op. cit.* (n. 8) Vol. I pt. 2, Genealogical Tables I, the Vijayan Dynasty. It is wrong that Nanden (Vol. 65 p. 111) refers to Abhaya as the king's younger brother.
- 13) As regards the spelling of the name, only VA (I-70) shows "Vuttiya" (in its footnote, "Uttiya" is given). Yet it is altered as "Uttiya." based on VA (I-64), Dpv, Mhv, etc.
- 14) Mhv chap. XX, vv. 53 ff.
- 15) *ibid.* chap. XX, vv. 32-34.
- 16) *ibid.* chap. XXIV, vv. 12 ff. ; XXV, vv. 1 ff. Cf. H. C. Roy, &c. : *op. cit.* (n. 8) Vol. I pt. 1, pp. 145, 147, 149 ff.
- 17) Mhv chap. XXIV, vv. 12 ff.
- 18) DAṬ II-399, l. 24 ; MAT I-374, l. 9.
- 19) Vis I-20, 193, 194 ; SA III-175 ; DhsA p. 200. Cf. VisṬ I-402, § 43.
- 20) do.
- 21) Mhv chap. XXXII, vv. 29, 30, 49-54 ; JA IV-490. Cf. "No. 77 Cūḷa-Samuddatthera," "No. 44 Phussadevatthera."
- 22) Malalasekera : *op. cit.* (n. 10) I-617 (Kuijattissa Thera) ; I-721 (Khuddaka Tissa). Adikaram : *op. cit.* (n. 2) p. 67.
- 23) JA I-316 f.
- 24) Vis I-116, 191 ; MA II-146 (Cullapiṇḍapāṭiya-Tissa).
- 25) In Vis (I-63), there is a story concerning "the mother of Tissa-amacca (minister)." She can be deduced to have been the mother of the same Tissa-amacca for the following reason. This story gives the example of "a cloth from a childbed (*soṭṭhiya*)" which was used as a sort of refuse-rag wear (*paṃsukūla*). It relates how, after having wiped up the stains of the childbed with a cloth worth a hundred [pieces], she thought "a refuse-rag wearer will take this," and had it thrown on Tāḷaveḷi Road. Yet it gives no detailed information about the Tissa-amacca. VisṬ (I-150, § 7) regarding this story comments upon the Tāḷaveḷi Road : *Tāḷaveḷimaggo nāma Mahāgame ekā vithi*. Anurādhapure ti ca vadanti. ("Tāḷaveḷi Road" is the name of a street in Mahāgama. Also in Anurādhapura, it is said). As to the identification of Tissa-amacca, we can certify that three different Tissa-amaccas lived in the ancient history of Sri

Lanka. The first was an attendant of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī under consideration, the second was that of Saddhātissa (No. 68), and the third was that of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (Mhv chap. XXXIII, v. 91). Of the above three kings, Saddhātissa lived in Dīghavāpi of the Southern area and also in Anurādhapura, the capital at that time, and Vaṭṭagāmaṇī lived in Anurādhapura and Vessagiri-vana, a place not far away from the capital (Mhv chap. XXIV, vv. 2, 14 f., 48; XXXII, 2. Cf. DPPN (n. 10) I-1083 f. q. v. Dīghavāpi); whereas Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was born in Mahāgama of South Sri Lanka, grew up there, and occupied Anurādhapura defeating the Damiḷa king, Eḷāra. It is a matter of course that a story relating the mother of the first Tissa is connected with the names of these two cities, in which she and her son must have lived, and which had coincidentally the respective roads with the same name, Tāḷaveḷimaggā. It seems very likely that the date when this event of hers occurred — whether in her Mahāgama period or in her Anurādhapura period, had already become uncertain even before the time of writing of the Visṭ. Therefore among these three Tissa-amaccas, the first Tissa, an attendant of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, who must always have followed his king, can be considered to have lived both in Mahāgama and Anurādhapura. Consequently only the first Tissa's mother out of the three mothers is likely to have lived in both places.

26) AA (I-49) records his name as "Pitimallaka," but as all other sources show, "Pitamalla" is correct. DAṬ (II-358, cf. MAṬ I-133, ll. 28-29) explains the origin of his name as follows: Pitavaṇṇāya paṇa patākāya pariharaṇato, mallayuddhacittakatāya ca Pitamallo ti paññāto pabbajitvā Pitamallatthero nāma jāto.

27) MhvṬ II-606.

28) Mhv chap. XXXII. v. 53.

29) S. Mori: "Mahāsivātthera as Seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās" (*Sri Lanka Journal of Buddhist Studies*, Colombo: Buddhist and Pali University of Sri Lanka, Vol. I, going to press, or *Jōsai Jinbun Kenkyū* <*Jōsai Studies in the Humanities*>, Japan: Jōsai University, Vol. XIV 1987, pp. 1-13).

(to be continued)

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Chronology of the "Sihala Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (II)¹⁾

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Contents

- Chapter I. Introduction: the question and the methodology
of investigation
- Chapter II. Datable Sri Lankans: 128 persons
1. Before Devānampiyatissa-rāja
 2. Period of Devānampiyatissa-rāja
 3. Period of Eḷāra-rāja and Kākavaṇṇatissa-rāja
 4. Period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi-rāja (in the previous volume)
-
5. Period of Saddhātissa-rāja (in the present volume)
 6. Period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi-rāja: including the five Dravidian kings
 7. Period of Coranāga-rāja
 8. Period of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa-rāja, Bhātika Abhaya-rāja, and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga-rāja
 9. Period of Candamukha-Siva-rāja
 10. Period of Vasabha-rāja
 11. Period of Mahāsena-rāja
- Chapter III. Undatable Sri Lankans: 60 persons
- Chapter IV. Conclusion

Chapter II. Datable Sri Lankans: 128 persons

5. Period of Saddhātissa-rāja (B.C. 137—119)

No. 67 Kāḷa-Buddharakkhitatthera (MA II-293ff.)

The above source states that he was born in a village near the Dak-

khināgiriivihāra (vihārassa bhikkhacāragāme) in the period of "Tissa-mahārāja" and that after ordination, while dwelling in the Vātakasitapabbatavihāra, he attained Arahant-ship, and at a later time he lived in the Cetiypabbatavihāra. As will be discussed in detail in the item No. 69, the above "Tissa-mahārāja" is none other than King Saddhātissa: it can be concluded that Kāḷa-Buddharakkhitatthera was a contemporary of this king. Incidentally, it was Saddhātissa who founded the Dakkhināgiriivihāra near the elder's native village,²⁾ and also it is recorded that the same king cordially gave alms to the Order of the Cetiypabbatavihāra³⁾ erected by King Devānampiyatissa,⁴⁾ where the elder later dwelt. Thus the elder in question had many direct or indirect links with King Saddhātissa in various fields.

No. 68 Tissa-amacca (SA III-25; AA II-30f.)

It is mentioned in the above two sources that he was an attendant (upaṭṭhakatara or cūḷa-upaṭṭhāka) of King Dhammika-Tissa, i.e. King Saddhātissa. The content about him in these two sources is similar, but the SA is more detailed than the AA. In any case, Tissa was active in the time of Saddhātissa.

No. 69 Saddhātissa-rāja (Dhammika-Tissa-(mahā)rāja, Tissa-mahārāja)

King Saddhātissa is known by various names as shown above: it is necessary to examine them case by case. The name "Saddhātissa-mahārāja" appears in three places in the AA.⁵⁾ Another name "Dhammika-Tissa-(mahā)rāja" appears in the SA.⁶⁾ Among these sources, the content of the SA(III-23ff.) agrees with that of the AA(II-30f.), but the name "Dhammika-Tissa-mahārāja" expressed in the SA is clearly altered into "Saddhātissa-mahārāja" in the AA. This textual point proves that Dhammika-Tissa-mahārāja is certainly one and the same person as Saddhātissa. Mention will next be made of a third name "Tissa-mahārāja" which occurs in the MA(II-294) and VibhA(p. 473): in the history of the ancient Sri Lankan dynasty from the beginning to King Mahānāma (reigning: A.D. 409-431) who was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, altogether eighteen kings with the name "Tissa" (with or without a

prefixed name) reigned over the country. They were Gaṇa-Tissa, Devānampiya-Tissa, Sūra-Tissa, Tissa, etc. Consequently the question now is which Tissa was the king who was always respectfully called "mahārāja" (great king).⁷⁾ According to a study by Hettiarachchy on monarchism and royal affairs in ancient Sri Lanka,⁸⁾ "mahārāja", as an honorific title was not specifically given to particular great kings, but rather it was a popular title which was occasionally given to some kings who ruled over the whole island. In documents and inscriptions we are able to find many kings who were informally called as "mahārāja". As there was no definite criterion for this title, some kings were called "mahārāja" on certain occasions, whereas on other occasions they were called just "rāja". It is certain, however, that among many ancient kings, only King Saddhātissa was at all times given the title "mahārāja". It seems to be only Saddhātissa in the ancient period and Parakkhamabāhu I in the mediaeval period who were recognized as kings so illustrious as to be always called mahārāja by the Sri Lankan people. Incidentally Malalasekera and Adikaram both regarded this Tissa-mahārāja as Saddhātissa.⁹⁾

6. Period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī-rāja (B. C. 103-102, 89-77):
including the five Dravidian kings (B. C. 102-89)

No. 70 Anuruddhatthera (VA III-698f.)

He is referred to in the above source as the main master (upajjhāya) of the famous Mahāsummatthera (No. 96). Mahāsumma's period of activity was during the Great Peril between the two reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī: Anuruddha also lived in the same period.¹⁰⁾

No. 71 Abhayatthera (VA IV-827)

His view is introduced only once in the above source along with the views of Mahāpaduma (No. 93) and Mahāsumma (No. 96), two eminent specialists of disciplines. Accordingly it is quite possible to consider that Abhaya was contemporaneous with these two elders who were active in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. If this is so, then the possibility arises that

the Abhaya in question is identical with Dīghabhāṇaka-Abhaya (No. 82) who was also a contemporary of the above two specialists. However, the latter suggestion is by no means certain.

No. 72 Ambakhādaka-Mahātissatthera (Vis I-43, 47, cf. VisṬ I-109f., § 84)

He lived in Cīvaragumba and was named Ambakhādaka (living on amba)-Mahātissa, because he was saved by ambas (mango fruit) during a famine. According to the above VisṬ a story connected with his name is as follows: while walking along the road, he fell down at the foot of a mango tree at the side of the road. Having taken no food during the famine, he had become extremely weak, but he was saved when he was given some mango juice by an old lay-Buddhist. On this occasion he gained Arahant-ship. Out of the four severe famines which occurred in ancient Sri Lanka,¹¹⁾ which did he suffer from? It seem to me that only the famine which could have been so serious that monks who were generally well-provided with meals by kings and other generous Buddhist believers even during a famine, fell down on the road because of hunger, must have been the worst one which seems to have lasted for twelve years in the period of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. If it is correct, then the elder can be regarded as a contemporary of this king.

No. 73 Isidattatthera (VibhA pp. 446ff.)

According to the above source, he was a leader of the Order together with Saṃyuttabhāṇaka-Cūlasivatthera (No. 99) and Mahāsoṇatthera (No. 97) in the perilous time when much damage was done by Brāhmaṇa-Tissa between the two reigns of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 74 Uttara-rājaputta (VA III-544)

He must have been a member of the royal family, because of his title "rājaputta" (prince). The reference to him in the above source concerns a story about him and a Mahāpadumatthera. Two Mahāpadumas certainly lived in ancient times: one in the period of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (No. 93) and the other in the period of King Vasabha (No. 124). Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's

sister, Sumanadevi had two sons: Abhaya and Uttara.¹²⁾ They are of course King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's nephews: this Uttara must have been the Prince Uttara under consideration.

No. 75 Upatissatthera (VA' I-263; II-456; III-651, 653, 685, 714; IV-1218, cf. VA I-63)

He was an excellent specialist of disciplines and was often referred to in the same breath as Phussadevatthera, another specialist under the same master (No. 86). VA (I-263f.) gives the following passage:

"Tambapaṇṇidipe kira dve vinayaḍharā samānācariyakā therā ahesuṃ, Upatissatthero ca Phussadevatthero ca. Te mahābhaye uppanne Vinayapi ṭakaṃ pariharantā rakkhiṃsu. Tesu Upatissatthero byattataro. Tassāpi dve antevāsikā ahesuṃ Mahāpadumatthero ca Mahāsummatthero ca."

"It is said that in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi lived two specialists of disciplines under the same master, Elder Upatissa and Elder Phussa-deva. During the Great Peril, they respectfully protected the Vinaya-piṭaka. Of these two, Upatissa was the greater. He also had two boarding disciples (antevāsika): Elder Mahāpaduma and Elder Mahāsumma."

It is quite obvious from this passage that the Upatissa in question played an active part in the period of the Great Peril (B.C. 102-89).

No. 76 Catunikāyika-Tissatthera (VA III-695; AA II-173; PugA p. 223¹³⁾)

Out of the above sources it is clear from the AA that he was a resident of the Kolutavihāra and a brother of Dattābhayatthera dwelling in the Potaliyavihāra (No. 81). In addition, according to the above VA, he lived in the time of the Great Peril caused by Brāhmaṇa Tissa during the interregnum of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 77 Cūlasamuddatthera (Vis II-403; MA III-357)

The above MA mentions that he resided in Gavilaṅgaṇa. The above Vis mentions that on the occasion of a famine, he, together with seven

hundred monks, left Tambapaṇṇi, i.e. Sri Lanka where no meals could be offered, and went for alms to Pāṭaliputta in the country on the opposite side of the sea, i.e. India. According to Ellawala,¹⁴⁾ four famines occurred in ancient Sri Lanka:

1. During the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (B.C. 161-137)

The famine at that time is called the Akkhakkhāyika famine or the Pāsapachātaka famine. However, it was not a nationwide famine but a limited one centred on Koṭṭe in the Malaya district. Its influence however seems to have been felt over the country in general. The Mhv¹⁵⁾ records that the contemporary king, disposing of his own precious items, offered meals to five eminent elders, and that they further gave these meals to many monks in respective places as follows:

- 1) Malaya Mahā-Devatthera shared with 2,900 monks in Sumanakūṭa-pabbata.
- 2) Paṭhavicālaka Dhammaguttatthera shared with 500 monks in the Kalyāṇikavihāra.
- 3) Talaṅgavāsika Dhammadinnatthera shared with 12,000 monks in Piyaṅgu Island.
- 4) Maṅganavāsika Khuddatissatthera shared with 6,000 monks in the Kelāsa(vihāra).¹⁶⁾
- 5) Mahā-Vyagghatthera shared with 700 monks in the Ukkanagaravihāra.

From the above statement, it is apparent that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi did his best to support the Order in the time of the famine.

2. During the period of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (B.C. 103-102, <102-89>, 89-77)

The famine during this period is named the Brāhmaṇa Tissa (or Tiya) famine, because it occurred in the time when a Dravidian with the above name revolted and plundered the country under the rule of five Dravidian kings.¹⁷⁾ This famine was the most serious in ancient Sri Lanka with no rain for as long as twelve years, and people are said to have eaten even human meat. Therefore we are told that many monks escaped from that country to India to ask for food.¹⁸⁾

3. During the reign of King Kuṇḍanāga (or Kuḍḍanāga, A.D. 194-195)

The famine of this period is called the Ekanālika famine (a famine when it was possible to take one *nāli* of food only). Nevertheless, as the Mhv¹⁹⁾ relates that the king still offered meals to 500 monks residing in Mahāpeḷa (or Mahāpāli), the country can be regarded to have still had some food in reserve, and as in the case of the first famine, the Order in particular seems to have been supported as much as possible.

4. During the reign of King Sri Saṅghabodhi (A.D. 251-253)

It is certain that another famine occurred in this period. According to the Mhv (chap. XXXVI, vv. 73ff.), however, the king prayed earnestly for rain and stopped the famine preventing further damage. Moreover, as the duration of his reign was only three years, and the famine was within his reign: this famine is likely to have been comparatively short and on a small scale.

It seems to have been during the second and worst famine in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi that the Cūḷasamuddatthera in question together with a number of monks after suffering in Sri Lanka escaped to India for alms. To conclude, Cūḷasamuddatthera was most probably a contemporary of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 78 Cūḷasumana-kuṭumbiya (VA II-440f.)

It is claimed in the above text that he was killed by Piturāja, i.e. King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (No. 85) who was moved to great anger against him. He is sure to have lived in the reign of this king.

No. 79 Corābhaya (or Abhayacora, VA II-473, 474f.; DA II-433; MA IV-178; AA III-127)

Among the above sources, the DA, MA and AA all agree concerning him. According to these texts, Abhayacora (Cora-abhaya) along with Nāga-cora (Cora-Nāga) were persons who were born after death in a hell-world named "Lokantarikaniraya" with a body of three *gāvuta* in height. Generally speaking, it is fairly common in the Aṭṭhakathā texts that persons referred to together as examples of the same matter or item have roughly corresponding dates.²⁰⁾ Therefore the above two robbers (cora) in this case could be contemporaries; in addition, the order in

which they are referred to is as "Abhaya-cora and Nāga-cora". This would suggest that the former was somewhat older than the latter. Of these two robbers, Nāga-cora was none other than King Cora-Nāga (B.C. 62-50) who, in spite of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's son, was pursued as a robber during the rule of King Mahācūḷi Mahātissa (B.C. 76-62), the successor to Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Nāga-cora enthroned himself after the death of Mahācūḷi.²¹⁾ If the Corābhaya in question was slightly older than Cora-Nāga, then he would play an active part in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi: quite probably in the dark years of Brāhmaṇa Tissa and the five Dravidian invaders.

No. 80 Tipiṭaka-Mahādhammarakkhitatthera

Since several Mahādhammarakkhitas appear in the Aṭṭhakathās, individual identification is necessary. A Mahādhammarakkhita found in the VA (I-55, 64, 67) and ThagA (II-229) was apparently an Indian elder in the period of King Asoka, who was sent on a Buddhist mission to Mahārāṭṭha.²²⁾ Another Mahādhammarakkhita entitled Tipiṭaka occurs in the PtsA (III-574), DhsA (p. 267) and PugA (p. 190). Of these sources the DhsA records a discussion which took place among Tipiṭaka-Cūḷanāga (No. 107), Moravāpivāsi-Mahādatta (No. 90) and himself. in the PugA he appears along with Tipiṭaka-Cūḷanāga and Tipiṭaka-Cūḷa-Abhaya (No. 106). The passage in the above PtsA is a reference to the DhsA (pp. 284ff.) in which Tipiṭaka-Cūḷanāga, Moravāpivāsi-Mahādatta and himself are again referred to together.

Another Mahādhammarakkhita, not an Indian elder nor a Tipiṭaka elder, is described in the Vis (I-96), DhsA (pp. 278, 286, 287), and VibhA (p. 81). With respect to these references, an elder of this name in the Vis was a resident in the Tulādhārapabbatavihāra in Rohaṇa district, who met Tipiṭaka-Cūḷa-Abhaya in this story. He appears together with Moravāpivāsi-Mahādatta in the DhsA (p. 286); and together with Dighabhāṇaka-Abhaya (No. 82) in the VibhA (p. 81). From the above evidence, it can be concluded that Tipiṭaka-Mahādhammarakkhita and Tulādhārapabbatavāsi-Mahādhammarakkhita were contemporaries, and that most probably they were one and the same individual.²³⁾ He was

active in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (as in the case of Dighabhāṇaka-Abhaya) and also in the reign of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa (as in the case of Tipiṭaka-Cūḷa-Abhaya and Tipiṭaka-Cūḷanāga): he lived in the period between these reigns.

No. 81 Dattābhayatthera (Vis I-104: MA II-373: AA II-173: DhsA p. 268)

Out of these sources, the MA and DhsA contain identical passages about him. According to the AA, he was an elder brother of Kolita-vihāravāsi-Catunīkāyika-Tissatthera (No. 76) and dwelt in the Potaliya-vihāra. As his younger brother took an active role in the time of the Great Peril caused by Brāhmaṇa Tissa, he can be regarded himself as an elder of the same period.

No. 82 Dighabhāṇaka-Abhayatthera (or Mahā-Abhayatthera, Vis I-36, 266; VA II-474f.; DA II-530; MA I-79, IV-97; AA II-249; DhsA p. 399; VibhA p. 81)

Out of the above sources, in the VA (II-474f., cf. DhsA p. 399) we can read a story about him and Cora-Abhaya (No. 79) who came for plunder to the Cetiyaḡirivihāra where he resided. Cora-Abhaya is concluded to have lived in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi: it is obvious that the elder now in question also lived in the same period.

No. 83 Nāgatthera (DA II-535f.; MA II-399; AA III-343f.)

The above sources relate that he was the younger brother (kaniṭṭhabhātar) of Nāgattheri (No. 84). This sister suffered the terror caused by Brāhmaṇa Tissa in the interregnum of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi: he also took an active part in those days.

No. 84 Nāgattheri (or -ttheriyā, DA II-535f.; MA II-399; AA III-343f.)

This lady-elder was an inhabitant in Bhātaragāma. As is stated in the previous item about her brother, Nāgatthera, she was alive in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 85 Piturāja (Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya-rāja, VA II-140, 473; AA I-137, 304; VibhA pp. 448, 451)

We are able to find some detailed description about "King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi" both in the Dpv and Mhv²⁴⁾; yet the name of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi does not appear in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. However, his alternative name, Piturāja (or Pitirāja) can be seen in the above sources. It is clearly apparent from the Mhv²⁵⁾ that "Piturāja" was no less than Vaṭṭagāmaṇi himself. In addition, the following passage in the VibhA²⁶⁾ is also able to prove this fact:

"Brāhmaṇatissacore mate Pitumahārāja chattam ussāpesi."

"When Brāhmaṇatissacora died, Pitu the Great held up his canopy (as the symbol of kingship), i.e. he enthroned himself."

The above quotation shows that Piturāja was the king who reigned after the time when Brāhmaṇatissa disturbed Sri Lanka as an atrocious robber: Piturāja can be identified with King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.

No. 86 Phussadevatthera (VA I-263; II-456, 495; III-651, 653, 685; IV-890, cf. VA I-63)

He was a specialist of disciplines, who was referred to only in the Vinaya Commentary often in connection with Upatissatthera (No. 75). As is explained in the item on Upatissa, he and Upatissa followed the disciplines strictly during the Great Peril in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 87 Brāhmaṇa-Tissacora (or Brāhmaṇa-Tiya, Caṇḍāla-Tissa, DA II-535; MA II-399; AA III-343; VibhA p. 445f., cf. Mhv chap. XXXIII, vv. 37ff.; MhvT II-613)

With respect to this person, UC, HC and DPPN contain detailed discussion.²⁷⁾ He was, in short, an infamous robber who committed crimes during the troubled times under the occupation of the five Dravidian rulers in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 88 Mallakatthera (Vis I-123, 265f.; VA VII-1337)

According to the Vis (I-265f.), he was acquainted with Dighabhāṇaka-Abhayatthera (No. 82). As Abhaya was a contemporary of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi,

Mallaka must also have been in the same king's reign.

No. 89 Mahātipiṭakatthera (VA III-695)

The above source gives us the information that he was the main master (upajjhāya) of Catunikāyika-Tissatthera (No. 76), and took an active part during the Great Peril (mahābhaya) in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 90 Mahātissatthera (Vis I-143; VA III-644; DhsA p. 116)

He was a resident in the Puṇṇavallika(vihāra). Out of the above sources, the Vis and DhsA contain identical passages about him. In the VA, he is referred to as an ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka and his view is explained after that of Mahā-Padumatthera (No. 93). From this, Adikaram regarded him as a contemporary of Mahā-Paduma,²⁸⁾ who was an elder living in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 91 (Mahā)-Tissabhūtittthera (MA I-66; AA I-39; DhsA p. 30; VibhA p. 448)

He was a resident in the Maṇḍalārāma(ka)-(mahā)viḥāra.²⁹⁾ According to the VibhA shown above, he lived in the period of Pitumahārāja who was none other than Vaṭṭagāmaṇi as discussed under his own listing (No. 85). It may be said in this connection that Maṇḍalārāma-vāsi-Dhammapadabhāṇaka Mahātissatthera (No. 39) appearing in the Dhpa is a different elder from the person under consideration.

No. 92 Mahādattatthera (PtsA III-574; DhsA pp. 230, 267, 284, 286)

He was an inhabitant in Moravāpi. In the above sources his views are always referred to not alone, but together with those of one or two eminent elders such as Tipiṭaka-Cūḷa-Abhaya (No. 106), Tipiṭaka-Cūḷanāga (No. 107) and Tipiṭaka-Mahādharmarakkhita (No. 80).³⁰⁾ In addition, three different views of "keci therā" (certain elders) are stated in the Vis (II-666). According to the comment about these "certain elders" in the VisT,³¹⁾ one view was his own, the others being those of Tipiṭaka-Cūḷanāga and Tipiṭaka-Cūḷa-Abhaya. From the above textual facts, the Mahādatta in question must have been a contemporary of all these three

Tipiṭakattheras: Mahādhammarakkhita being active in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, and both Cūḷa-Abhaya and Cūḷanāga in the period of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa.

No. 93 Mahāpadumatthera (VA I-184, 263f., 283; II-368, 387, 477; III-535f., 538, 556, 588, 596, 609, 651, 683, 715, 719; IV-819, 827, 866; V-1041, 1047, 1053; VI-1172, 1179, 1183, 1230, 1255)

He was a specialist of disciplines who is referred to only in the Vinaya Commentary. As another Mahāpaduma (No. 124) clearly different from the one now in question also appears in the same text, it is necessary to discriminate source by source between these two sharing the same name. The Mahāpaduma in this item, as has been discussed in the item on Upatissatthera (No. 75), was a disciple of Upatissa and a fellow pupil of Mahāsummatthera (No. 96), which is clear from the statement in the VA (I-263f.) In fact, he is often referred to along with Mahāsumma. The Mahāpadumas appearing in such cases can be regarded as identical. With regard to Mahāpaduma being referred to without Mahāsumma, in the VA (III-544) the Mahāpaduma was described as being contemporaneous with Uṭṭara-rājaputta (No. 74) whose period was the same as that of the Mahāpaduma in this item. Consequently these Mahāpadumas are also identified. The only remaining case is in the VA (III-644). The view of this Mahāpaduma is also concerning a matter of disciplines: he must have been one and the same elder as the Mahāpaduma in this item. Such being the case, it can be concluded that a different Mahāpaduma from the elder of this item was the Mahāpaduma (No. 124, VA II-471) only. The other Mahāpadumas are all identified.

No. 94 Mahārakkhitatthera (VA III-695; MA II-666)

Although it is not definitely certain whether the elders with the above same name who occur in the two sources are identical or not, the one who appears in the VA (III-695) was a friend of "Mahātipiṭakatthera", the master of Catunīkāyika-Tissatthera (No. 76), who played an active part during the Great Peril in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi: he was also actively engaged in the same period.

No. 95 Mahā-Saṅgharakkhitatthera (Vis I-47, 104; MA I-66, II-374; AA I-40; DhsA p. 268)

We are able to find several Mahā-Saṅgharakkhitas, and it could be rather difficult to identify them. If we take for granted that persons with the same name appearing in the same text are one and the same unless there is any specific negative evidence to the contrary, we are able to recognize one Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita as featuring in all the above texts. Of these sources, the Vis (I-104), MA (II-374) and DhsA (p. 268) give identical passages. The story relating to him in the MA (I-66) is the same sort as that in the AA (I-40) (but summarized). As the latter source names him Malayavāsi-Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita, it is obvious that he dwelt in Malaya. The story, moreover, in these two sources shows his contemporary relation with (Mahā)-Tissabhūtīthera (No. 91). Accordingly the Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita under discussion can be said to have been active in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi just as in the case of Tissabhūti.

No. 96 Mahāsummatthera (VA I-263f.; II-368, 387, 477; III-535f., 538, 556, 588, 596, 609, 646f., 651, 683, 698f., 715, 719; IV-819, 827, 866; V-1041, 1047, 1053; VI-1172, 1179, 1183, 1230, 1255)

As is discussed in detail in the item on Upatissatthera (No. 75), Mahāsumma's nissaya-ācariya, the elder of this item was a well-known expert on disciplines together with Mahāpadumatthera (No. 93), another disciple under the same master. Unlike the case of Mahāpaduma, there is no evidence to show the existence of several people with the same name: Mahāsummas appearing in all the above sources can be regarded as one and the same elder who lived in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.³²⁾

No. 97 Mahāsoṇatthera (VibhA pp. 445ff.)

According to the one and only source above, he was a leader of the Order together with Isidattatthera (No. 73) and Saṃyuttabhāṇaka-Cūḷasivatthera (No. 99) in the dark age when Brāhamaṇatissa stormed Sri Lanka, King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi having been dethroned. He is sure to have actively participated in that period. It is further apparent that he was a different individual from another undated Soṇatthera (No. 187).

No. 98 Vattabbaka-Nigrodhatthera (VibhA pp. 449-52)

The above text records the story that on the occasion of the Great Peril staged by Brāhmaṇatissa, i.e. the interregnum of Piturāja (=King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi), he, as a mere novice, did his best to look after his master. In a later period with Piturāja restored, he became so splendid an elder as to be entitled "Tipiṭakatthera", and also a great leader of the Order. Thus he lived in those days.

No. 99 Saṃyuttabhāṇaka-Cūlasivattthera (Vis I-303; AA V-83; VibhA pp. 445ff.)

The above VibhA gives us the information that along with Isidattatthera (No. 73) and Mahāsoṇatthera (No. 97), he was a leader of the Order in a crisis during the Great Peril: he lived in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 100 Saṅgharakkhitatthera (Vis I-47, 194; DhsA p. 187)

According to the Vis (I-47), he was a nephew of Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita (No. 95). As the uncle was active in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the nephew must also have been active at a slightly later time in the same period.³³⁾

No. 101 Saṅgharakkhita-Sāmaṇera (Vis I-45)

In the above source, he is described as "bhāgiṇeyya Saṅgharakkhita-sāmaṇera". About the "bhāgiṇeyya" (nephew), the Vis³⁴⁾ comments as follows:

"attano mātulassa Saṅgharakkhitattherasseva nāmassa gahitattā bhāgiṇeyya-Saṅgharakkhita-sāmaṇero."

From this comment, it is proved that the person in question was a nephew of Saṅgharakkhitatthera (No. 100). As is explained in the latter's item, the uncle was a nephew of Mahā-Saṅgharakkhitatthera (No. 95). Of these three Saṅgharakkhitas related by kinship, Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita, the oldest was a contemporary of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi: Saṅgharakkhita-sāmaṇera, the youngest must have been a much younger contemporary of them.

7. Period of Coranāga-rāja (B. C. 62—50)

No. 102 Coranāga (or Nāgacora)-rāja (VA II-473; DA II-433; III-981; MA IV-178; AA III-127; DhsA p. 399)

Out of the above sources, the DA (II-433), MA and AA agree in their passages concerning him. A record about him as a king also exists in the Mhv.³⁵⁾ In any case, he was a son of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi and reigned in Sri Lanka during the aforementioned period.

**8. Period of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa-rāja (B. C. 41—19),
Bhātika-Abhaya-rāja (B. C. 19—A. D. 9),
Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga-rāja (A. D. 9—21)**

(1) Period of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa-rāja

No. 103 Abhayatthera (VA IV-892)

It is stated in the above source that he discussed a certain matter with Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāgatthera (No. 107). This proves that Abhaya was a contemporary of Cūlanāga who took an active part in the reign of King Kūṭakaṇṇatissa.

No. 104 Kūṭakaṇṇatissa-rāja (MA III-159; SA I-34; VibhA p. 452, cf. Dpv chap. XVIII, v. 37: XX, 31; Mhv chap. XXXIV, vv. 28-36)

Among the above texts, MA and SA are identical in their passages relating to him. It goes without saying that he was the second son of King Mahācūḷi and ruled over the country in the period shown above.

No. 105 Cūlasudhammatthera (VibhA p. 452)

He was an inhabitant in Girigāmakappa. According to the above source, he was contemporaneous with King Kūṭakaṇṇatissa.

No. 106 Tipiṭaka-Cūla-Abhayatthera (Vis I-69, 96; II-394; VA III-591; DA II-442, 530; MA I-155; IV-94, 148, 189; SA III-230, 264, 277; AA I-26; II-24; DhsA p. 230; VibhA pp. 11, 16, 457; PugA pp.

190, 223, cf. "*keci therā*": Vis II-666 with VisṬ III-1578, § 84, ll. 7-9)³⁶⁾

He was so eminent a commentator as to be respectfully called "Tipiṭaka-", and is referred to in plenty of sources as listed above. Of these sources, the SA (III-277), DhsA, VibhA (p. 16), PugA (p. 190), etc. record certain discussions upon various matters between him and Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāgattthera (No. 107). Accordingly he can be considered to have been a contemporary of Cūlanāga, who was actively engaged in the reign of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa as will be explained in the next item about Cūlanāga. In this connection, there lived a certain Mahā-Abhayatthera who can be regarded as a senior elder to the Cūla-Abhaya now in question, judging from their prefixed names, "Mahā" and "Cūla". Mahā-Abhaya's other name was Dīghabhāṇaka-Abhaya (No. 82) who was active in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, i.e. the first half of the first century B.C. A contemporary of this elder was Tipiṭaka-Mahādhammarakkhitatthera (No. 80),³⁷⁾ who had a discussion with Cūla-Abhaya and Cūlanāga.³⁸⁾ From the above facts it can be assumed that Mahādhammarakkhita lived in the time from the first half to the middle of the first century B.C.; and both Cūla-Abhaya and Cūlanāga lived in the time from the middle to the latter half of the same century including the reign of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa. If we consider that the above discussion took place among the three elders in the middle of the first century B.C., there should be no contradictions concerning dates.

No. 107 Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāgattthera (Vis II-398; VA III-699; IV-892; DA III-744; MA I-230; V-103; SA II-276; III-277; AA I-26; II-133; V-48; PṭsA III-574; DhsA pp. 229, 230, cf. "*keci therā*": Vis II-666, VisṬ III-1578, § 84, ll. 7-9)³⁹⁾

He was so learned a commentator that he was given a title of "Tipiṭaka", and is referred to in such a way in many texts of Aṭṭhakathā as shown above. Of these sources, the VibhA (p. 452) recounts an episode between him and King Kūṭakaṇṇa (No. 104), which proves that he lived during the reign of this king, i.e. in the latter half of the first century B.C. On the other hand, as is explained in the previous item, he was con-

temporaneous with Tipiṭaka-Mahādhammarakkhitatthera (No. 80) who was active in the first half and middle of the first century B.C.: the Cūlanāga in question was active, therefore, in the period between the middle and latter half of the same century.

No. 108 Tipiṭaka-Cūlasummatthera (DA III-744f.; MA I-230)

According to these two sources which are identical, he was the master of Cūlanāgattthera (No. 108). As the disciple was active in the period between the middle and latter half of the first century B.C. including the reign of King Kūṭakaṇṇatissa, Cūlasumma, the master must have been an older contemporary of the disciple in the same period.

No. 109 Summatthera⁴⁰⁾ (MA II-155; AA II-133; V-48; VibhA p. 342)

He was called Dīpavihāravāsi-Summatthera in the two references in the AA. These passages are almost identical, and describe his differing point of view from that of his disciple, Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāga (No. 107). On the other hand, in the above VibhA, we are able to find that the view of "Dībbavihāravāsi-Summatthera" and that of his disciple, Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāgattthera are referred to at the same time. It is obvious, therefore, that the above "Dībbavihāra" is a variant of "Dīpavihāra", so that the above two Summas would be of course one and the same person. Furthermore in the above MA, we find the same passage as that in the AA (V-48) already noted above, in which, however, there is a minor confusion as to the disciple's name (either Tepiṭaka-Cūlanāgattthera or Tepiṭaka-Cūla-Abhayatthera) as can be seen in different editions:

PTS edn.: Cūla-Abhaya (Cūla-Nāga, Mūla-Abhaya in its footnote)

Burmese edn.: Cūla-Nāga⁴¹⁾

SHB edn.: Cūla-Nāga (Cūla-Abhaya in its footnote)⁴²⁾

The name of the disciple is confused in this way. The reason for this confusion would probably be that these two Tipiṭakattheras were contemporaries and are referred to together on many occasions. In any case, if the above disciple's name is regarded as Cūla-Nāga, then his master, Tipiṭaka-Cūlasumma (No. 108) would be identified with Dīpavihāravāsi-Summa in this item; but if that name is regarded as Cūla-Abhaya, then

the above two Summas would be different from one another. Cūḷa-Nāga and Cūḷa-Abhaya, in any case, were contemporaries being active in the period from the middle to the latter half of the first century B.C. including the reign of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa; consequently their master(s), Summa(s) was(were) also contemporaneous with the disciples. Furthermore, should these Summas not be identified (most probably not), Dipavihāravāsi-Summa would be more or less older than Cūḷa-Summa, because the latter's name is prefixed with "cūḷa" (small, junior). Or the above Cūḷasumma might have been named to contrast with Mahāsummatthera (No. 96) who lived just previous to this period, i.e. the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The latter was clearly senior to the former.

(2) Period of Bhātika-Abhaya-rāja

No. 110 Ābhidhammika-Godattatthera (Vis I-138; VA II-307, 430, 478; III-588)

According to the above VA (II-307), his opinion about a disciplinary problem which was expressed at an assembly of the Mahāvihāra held by the side of the Mahāthūpa, was supported by the then King Bhātiya, i.e. Bhātika-Abhaya. This episode proves that he played an active part in the reign of this king.

No. 111 Cūḷābhayasumanatthera (VA II-305f.)

The only source concerning him given above presents the information that he was a resident in the Mahāvihāra and was active in the reign of King Bhātiya, i.e. Bhātika-Abhaya.

No. 112 Dighakārāyana-amacca (VA III-582f.)

It is mentioned in the above text that he was a Brahmin and retainer of King Bhātiya (Bhātika), who, by order of this king, mediated the controversy between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri fraternities.

No. 113 Bhātika (or Bhātiya)-Abhayarāja (VA II-305, 307; III-582f.; SA II-247; AA V-5; VibhA p. 440)

He was a son of King Kūṭakaṇṇatissa and the elder brother of King Mahādāṭhika who succeeded Bhātika. Thus he was called King Bhātika (brother)-Abhaya. In the above sources of the Aṭṭhakathā texts, he was in fact called either "Bhātikarāja" (SA) or "Bhātiyarāja" (VA, AA, VibhA), and a part of his name "Abhaya" is always omitted. On the other hand, another "Bhātika" can be found in the list of ancient Sinhalese kings. He was also the elder brother of his successor, King Kaniṭṭha-Tissa. Such being the case, it would be necessary to identify the "Bhātika" appearing in the Aṭṭhakathā texts with one of the above two Bhātikas.

With respect to Bhātika-Abhaya, the Mhv⁴³⁾ contains a detailed description in which we are able to find the proof that Bhātika-Abhaya was called "Bhātika" alone and even gives the reason for shortening his name. As for another Bhātika, i.e. Bhātika-Tissa, the Dpv⁴⁴⁾ names him Bhātu-Tissa or Bhātika-Tissa(ka), and the Mhv⁴⁵⁾ always names him Bhātika-Tissa only. Thus there is no case in any text in which Bhātika-Tissa is called just "Bhātika". From the above textual evidence, a king named just "Bhātika" or "Bhātiya" appearing in the Aṭṭhakathā texts would be none other than King Bhātika-Abhaya. The views of previous scholars, incidentally, agree on this.⁴⁶⁾ In any case, the dates of his reign were B.C. 19-A.D. 9: he was active in the period around the first year of the Christian Era.⁴⁷⁾

No. 114 Sāmadevi (VibhA p. 440)

The sole source above concerning her mentions that she was loved by King Bhātika because of her beauty, and became his wife.

(3) Period of Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga-rāja

No. 115 Ummattaka-Cittatthera (AA I-22)

In the above text, he is referred to as an exemplary person who was ruined by the charms of a beautiful woman. That is to say, he, seeing Damiḷadevi, queen of King Mahādāṭhika-(Mahā)nāga, became attached to her, and betrayed his crazy emotions in words and actions: he was

Chronology of the "Sihaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (Mori)
called Ummattaka(mad)-Cittatthera as a result of it.

No. 116 Tissatthera (DA II-534f. ; MA II-397ff. ; AA III-342f.)

He was named Loṇa(or Lena)giri-vāsi-Tissatthera and two kinds of episode relating to him exist in the above three texts respectively. They are almost identical. The second episode begins with the following sentence :

"Ayaṃ eva pana therō Cetiya-pabbate Giribhaṇḍa-mahāpūjāya dāna-
tṭhānaṃ gantvā..."

It was King Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga who held the above historical event of the great offering called "Giribhaṇḍa-mahāpūjā" at Mt. Cetiya. Detailed descriptions about this event can be found in the Mhv, DAṬ,⁴⁸⁾ etc. Consequently it can be concluded that Tissatthera participated actively in the above king's reign.

No. 117 Daṃḷadevi-mahesī (AA I-22)

AS is explained in the item No. 115, the above AA states that she was extremely beautiful and was the queen (*mahesī*) of King Mahādāṭhika-(Mahā)nāga.

No. 118 Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāgarāja (AA I-22; DhsA p. 399; VA II-473, cf. Dpv chap. XXI, v. 34; Mhv chap. XXXIV, vv. 68ff. ; XXX, v. 1)

A king named Mahādāṭhikanāgarāja appears in the above AA only once: he can of course be identified with Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāgarāja (A.D. 9-21).

Another similar name "Mahānāgarāja" occurs in the above DhsA⁴⁹⁾ and VA: he is also identified with the king now in question. The following argument should prove this:

According to the above DhsA, he left Sri Lanka for the opposite side of the sea, i.e. India; obtained the favour (*saṅgaha*) of an elder; returned the kingdom to settle down; and established gift of medicine in Penam-baṅgaṇa for as long as he lived. On the other hand, the passage referring to him in the above VA is as follows: "Jambudīpagatassa Mahānāgarāṇṇo

Chronology of the "Sihaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (Mori)
vatthu". This clearly refers to the story about him in the DhsA mentioned above. In this connection, it is known that two King Mahānāgas reigned in ancient Sri Lanka: one was a younger brother of King Devānampiyatissa (B.C. 250-210), who assisted the king as Viceroy and who went later to the southern area and as the local king founded the Kingdom of Rohaṇa. The other was the king of this item, the younger brother and successor of King Bhātika-Abhaya. Of these two kings with the same name, the latter is more readily identifiable with the Mahānāga now in question. In the period of the former Mahānāga, i.e. the period of King Devānampiyatissa, Buddhism was officially introduced from India to Sri Lanka. Therefore it is rather difficult to imagine that in such an embryonic stage as that, he alone went to India to learn Buddhist teaching personally. Furthermore although it is true that he established some monasteries in Rohaṇa, there are no records that he kept on doing other good deeds.⁵⁰⁾ On the other hand, the achievements of Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga show great diversity: for instance, besides founding several monasteries, he improved the grounds of the Mahāthūpa; donated seats for a preacher (*dharmma-āsana*) to all the monasteries in the country; covered the road between the River Kadamba and Mt. Cetiya with matting; held the famous event of Giribhaṇḍa Great Offering; and carried out many other good deeds and offerings.⁵¹⁾ Taking these miscellaneous achievements of Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga into consideration, it is quite understandable that the great gifts of medicine established in Penam-baṅgaṇa (as explained earlier) should be regarded as one of the generous donations of Mahādāṭhika. King Bhātika-Abhaya, the predecessor of Mahādāṭhika was not his father but his elder brother who is unlikely to have been much older than Mahādāṭhika himself. Also the elder brother reigned over the country for twenty-eight years (B.C. 19-A.D. 9), and this was very long in comparison with ancient kings of that country. During such a long period as that, the younger brother grew up and went to India, quite probably staying there as a Buddhist monk neither intending nor being expected to rule over his mother country. However, as his elder brother had no child, the younger brother seems to have been summoned home from India in order to succeed his brother as king.

Royal successions after him were in fact carried out by his sons and grandsons, and his brother's lineage became extinct. Moreover, if it is accepted that Mahādāṭhika had once a monk, his various contributions and services in later yeras as already explained would be quite understandable. Judging from the above circumstances concerning Mahādāṭhika, it would be very reasonable to conclude that a King Mahānāga referred to in the DhsA and VA as a returnee from India was none other than the King Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga now under consideration.

9. Period of Candamukha-Sīva-rāja (A. D. 44—52)

No. 119 Candamukha-Tissarāja (Candamukha-Sivarāja, MA IV-97)

The name of Candamukha-Tissa appears only once in the above source. In the royal history of Sri Lanka, however, no king with this name reigned.⁵²⁾ Nevertheless, it is of no doubt that he was a king of this country, because the story tells that the above king visited the most senior elder of the Order (*saṅghatthera*) of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, the capital of ancient Sri Lanka. UC,HC⁵³⁾ understands that the above name must have been a clerical error in place of King Candamukha-Siva (A.D. 44-52). It is certain that a King Yasalālaka-Tissa, a brother of King Candamukha-Siva, who succeeded Candamukha-Siva, and who became the last king of the Vijayan Dynasty, existed in the country's history. Moreover it was only Candamukha-Siva who had "Candamukha" as the prefix of his name. Consequently there is the possibility that "Tissa" of the younger brother king and "Siva" of the elder brother king were changed in error. From the above, I conclude that the King Candamukha-Tissa under discussion were one and the same person as King Candamukha-Siva.

10. Period of Vasabha (A. D. 65—109)

No. 120 Karavikatissatthera (VA III-646f.; V-1047, 1101; VI-1166)

Among the above sources, the VA (V-1101) relates an episode about him starting with the following sentence:

"Tatr'idaṃ vatthu Karavikatissatthero kira vinayadhara-pāmukkho Mahāsivattherassa santikaṃ agamāsi."

From this sentence, it is known that as the foremost elder on disciplines, he was a contemporary of Mahāsivatthera. According to my study,⁵⁴⁾ this Mahāsiva can be acknowledged as Dighabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsivatthera (No. 123) in the reign of King Vasabha: the Karavikatissa in question also played an active part in this king's period.

No. 121 Goṇaraviyatthera (MA II-286)

The sole source above relating to him records a discussion between him and a Mahāsivatthera. As the latter is most likely to have been Dighabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsivatthera (No. 123) who lived in the reign of King Vasabha (see the previous item), Goṇaraviya must also have been actively engaged in those days.

No. 122 Cūḷasivatthera (DA III-883)

Several elders named Cūḷasiva appear in the Aṭṭhakathā texts, among whom the Cūḷasiva in this item was an inhabitant of Lokuttara (quite probably the name of a monastery). He is recorded only in the above source. There was a discussion called "Therasallāpa" among three elders: Kāḷhala(vihāra)vāsi-Summatthera (No. 127), Dighabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsivatthera (No. 123), and himself. Of these three, Mahāsiva was contemporaneous with king Vasabha; so the other persons including Cūḷasiva must also have lived then.

No. 123 Dighabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsivatthera

As has been explained in the item on Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsivatthera (No. 57 in the previous volume), a study to identify many Mahāsivattheras with various prefixed names (or with none prefixed) referred to in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās has been made by myself.⁵⁵⁾ Therefore full discussion can be sought from that article: here I shall expound only briefly the sources and dates of the Mahāsiva in this item.

Mahāsivas who are identified with the elder with the same name now in question are the following:

Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsīva,⁵⁶⁾

Dīghabhāṇaka-Mahāsīva,⁵⁷⁾

Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsīva,⁵⁸⁾

Mahāsīva.⁵⁹⁾

The four above Mahāsīvas are the same person. With respect to his dates, the following passage in the MhvṬ (II-555) proves that he was a contemporary of King Vasabha:

"Aparo Nigrodhapitṭhivāsiko Sabbapariyattiko teṭṭhako Mahāsīvattthero nāma Vasabharaṇṇo gehe nisiditvā dasabalassa Sihaṇādasuttaṃ kathento Mahācetiye dhātunidhānaṃ vaṇṇetvā suttantaṃ vinivaṭṭetvā niṭṭhāpesi.

No. 124 Mahāpadumattthera (VA II-471)

He is mentioned in the above source only once, and was obviously different from the elder with the same name (No. 93), a specialist on disciplines often referred to in the VA along with Mahāsumma. As the above source states that he cured the wife of King Vasabha of a disease, he must have lived in this king's reign.

No. 125 Mahā-Saṭṭhivassattthera (DA I-291)

According to the sole source above concerning him, he was a resident in the Katthakasālāpariveṇa and went out to meet King Vasabha who was ill in bed.

No. 126 Vasabharāja (VA II-471; DA I-291; II-635; MA IV-97, cf.

Dpv chap. XXII, vv. 1ff.; Mhv chap. XXXV, vv. 59ff.)

He was a king of ancient Sri Lanka, whose reign was A.D. 65-109.

No. 127 Summatthera (DA III-882, 888)

He inhabited the Kāḷhāla(ka)vihāra⁶⁰⁾ and appears at two places only in the DA given above. One of these two sources (DA III-882f.) records the so-called Therasallāpa which was a discussion among three elders: Lokuttaravāsi-Cūḷasīvattthera (No. 122), Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsīvattthera (No. 123), and himself. Of these three, Mahāsīva is concluded to have lived in the reign of King Vasabha: the Summa now in question

Chronology of the "Sihaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (Mori)
was also active in the same period.

11. Period of Mahāsena-rāja (A. D. 276—303)

No. 128 Mahāsenarāja (VA III-519)

To my knowledge, his name is referred to once only in the above source throughout the whole Aṭṭhakathā texts. He reigned over Sri Lanka from 276 A.D. to 303.

Chapter III. Undatable Sri Lankans : 60 persons

No. 129 Abhayattthera (VA VII-1336f.)

No. 130 Aḷandā-nāgarāja-mahesi (VA III-680)

No. 131 Ābhidhammika-Abhayattthera (MA IV-157, cf. MAT III-324, 185)

He was a resident in the Vālikapitṭhivihāra.

No. 132 Āraddhavipassaka-Tissabhikkhu (SA I-273f.; SnA II-397)

N. 133 Uttara-janapadamanussa (AA II-347)

He inhabited in the Bherapāsāṇavihāra in Rohaṇa district.

No. 134 Kāḷadevatthera (MA I-122, cf. MAT I-221, § 50)

He dwelt in the Vajagaragirivihāra.

No. 135 Gaṇakaputtatissattthera (AA III-341; MNdA II-382f.)

No. 136 Godattattthera (MA I-122)

He resided in the Kalyāṇiya-mahāvihāra in the southern region and was a different person from Ābhidhammika-Godattattthera (No. 110) who was active in Anurādhapura in the northern region.

No. 137 Gopakasivali (VibhA p. 156)

No. 138 Cakkaṇa-upāsaka (MA I-203; SA II-150; DhsA p. 103)

No. 139 Catunikāyika-Bhaṇḍikatthera (SA I-21)

No. 140 Cittaguttatthera (Vis I-38, 171, 173, cf. VisṬ I-102f., § 79)

He was an inhabitant in the Kuraṇḍaka Mahālena and practised the restraint of the faculties very strictly.⁶¹⁾

No. 141 Citta-mahāmatta (VibhA p. 341f.)

No. 142 Cullapitutthera (DhsA p. 347)

He is referred to in this source along with Mātulatthera (No. 58): he was certainly an elder of Sri Lanka. Although his dates are unclear, there is a possibility that he was a contemporary of Mātula.

No. 143 Cūla-Tissatthera (SA II-134)

He was a resident of the Uruvelāya (or Uruvalliya) Cave-monastery in Devanagara.⁶²⁾

No. 144 Cūla-Nāgattera (SA II-166, cf. Sih p. 167)

He came from a village named Vadhatalanagara and resided in the Cittalapabbatavihāra. He was the younger brother of Mahā-Nāgattera (No. 175).⁶³⁾

No. 145 Cūlapinḍapātika-Tissatthera (Vis I-116; MA II-146 <Cullapinḍapātiya-Tissa>)

His dwelling place or monastery is unknown. There is a possibility that he was none other than the elder of the same name residing in the Gāmeṇḍavālavihāra (No. 34) or another elder of the same name residing in the Girivihāra (No. 146). No evidence exists, however, linking him exactly with either.

No. 146 Cūlapinḍapātika-Tissatthera (AA II-215)

He was a resident of the Girivihāra. See the previous item.

No. 147 Cūlasivatthera (Vis I-170)

Other elders also named Cūlasiva are Saṃyuttabhāṇaka-Cūlasiva (No. 99) and Lokuttaravāsi-Cūlasiva (No. 122). However, no evidence identifies this Cūlasiva with either of the other two. He should therefore be considered as a different person from them.

No. 148 Tissatthera (AA I-44)

He was an inhabitant of the Cittalapabbata(vihāra). He was different from Mahātissatthera (No. 47).

No. 149 Tissatthera (Vis I-292; PugA p. 186)

He resided in the Koṭapabbatavihāra.

No. 150 Tissa-dahara(bhikkhu) (MA II-144; SnA I-70; CNdA p. 112; ApA p. 157)

He dwelt in the Pañcaggaḷalena.

No. 151 Tissa-sāmaṇera (MA II-91, cf. MAṬ II-76, 218)

No. 152 Tepiṭaka-Cūlasumanatthera (DA II-514)

We should recognize the possibility of identifying him with Tipiṭaka-Cūlasummatthera (No. 108). However, his name is not spelt as "-summa", but as "-sumana" not only in the PTS edition shown above, but also in the SHB and Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions.⁶⁴⁾ Therefore he should for the moment be considered as a different person.

No. 153 Tepiṭaka-Tissatthera (AA II-311)

No. 154 Datta-daharabhikkhu (VA VII-1336)

He resided in the Lokantaravihāra which can be regarded as identical with the Lokandaravihāra, a monastery of Sri Lanka mentioned in the

Chronology of the "Sihaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (Mori)
MA (V-101).

No. 155 Dighasummatthera (MA V-76; AA III-109)

The content of the above two sources is identical. They tell of an episode concerning him and a fisherman dwelling near the mouth of the River Kalyāṇi (Kelaniya today). There is the possibility that he was Dighasumanatthera (No. 15, VA I-104), who was a disciple of Mahā-Ariṭṭhatthera. As has been discussed in the item on Dighasumana, he was active in the time from the last period of the third century B.C. to the first half of the second century B.C. As is well-known, Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lanka, was under occupation by a Dravidian king Eḷāra for a considerably long period in the first half of the second century B.C. until 162 B.C. when the above king was destroyed by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. During those years of confusion, monks seem to have escaped from the capital to various places in the country in order to protect themselves, and consequently Buddhism infiltrated into local areas. On the other hand, according to Adikaram's study,⁶⁵⁾ it was in the middle of the second century B.C. (according to Geiger's chronology⁶⁶⁾) that a Buddhist monastery was erected in Kalyāṇi district for the first time. "The middle of the second century B.C." in Geiger's chronology corresponds to "the first half of the same century" of Paranavitana's chronology that has been adopted in the present article:⁶⁷⁾ it can be considered that the Order had already been established in the above area in the first half of the second century B.C. If this were true, then we could recognize the possibility that Dighasumana (the same as Dighasumma?), as a disciple of Mahā-Ariṭṭha, was forced to go down from the capital to Kalyāṇi district in the south and was active there on a Buddhist mission in the above period.

No. 156 Diparāja (VibhA p. 443f.)⁶⁸⁾

No. 157 Nāgattthera (Vis I-96)

He dwelt in the Kāraṇiyagiri(vihāra).

Chronology of the "Sihaḷa Sources" for the Pāli Commentaries (Mori)

No. 158 Padhāniyatthera (MA I-78)

His residence was the Khaṇḍacelavihāra which was most likely to have been a monastery in Sri Lanka.⁶⁹⁾

No. 159 Padhāniyatthera (MA I-79)

He was an inhabitant in the Cittalapabbata, and was apparently different from the elder with the identical name in the previous item.

No. 160 Padhāniya-Tissatthera (Vis I-127)

He lived in Nāgapabbata located in Malaya, the central part of Sri Lanka.⁷⁰⁾

No. 161 Piṅgala-Buddharakkhitatthera (MA I-204; V-33; SA II-150; DhsA p. 103)

He resided in the Ambariyavihāra.

No. 162 Piṇḍapātika-Tissatthera (Vis I-292)

He lived in Devaputta-mahāraṭṭha of which the location is uncertain. Malalasekara considered it, however, as a part of ancient Sri Lanka.⁷¹⁾

No. 163 Phussamittatthera (AA I-53, 59)

He was called Kurundakavāsi⁷²⁾-Phussamitta and perhaps was a commentator, because his views are referred to in the above two sources.

No. 164 Buddharakkhita (or Rakkhita)tthera (Vis I-155; MA I-228f.)

He is described in the above Vis as an elder for eight years since his ordination. An elder who is regarded as the same person as him is named "Rakkhitatthera" in the same Vis (II-376) and also "Saṅgharakkhita-tthera" (No. 100) in the DhsA (p. 187). It is likely that his correct name was Buddharakkhita as written above. It is rather doubtful that the Buddharakkhita of the above MA was really the same person as the elder of the same name in this item, because even the nationality of the Buddharakkhita of the MA is uncertain. However, these two Buddharakkhitas are regarded as identical for the moment.

No. 165 Majjhimabhāṇaka-Reva(ta)tthera (Vis I-95)⁷³⁾

No. 166 Mahātthera (MA I-264; III-244f.; VibhA pp. 292, 359, 407)

If this name is a proper name of a private individual, he must have been an inhabitant in the Nāgamahāvihāra which existed in Rohaṇa district.

No. 167 Mahā-Anulatthera (Vis II-404)

No. 168 Mahāgatimba-Abhayatthera (DA II-530; AA III-244)

No. 169 Mahāgatimbaya-Tissadattatthera (DhsA p. 11f.)

No. 170 Mahātissatthera (Vis I-292)

No. 171 Mahātissatthera (Vis II-689; SnA I-6f.)

He dwelt in a monastery perhaps near Kalyāṇigāma in Rohaṇa.⁷⁴⁾

No. 172 Mahādattatthera (MA I-160f.)

He lived in "Ariyakoṭi" which was probably a Sri Lankan monastery.

No. 173 Mahādevatthera (AA III-227)

He was a resident of Karaṇḍakola possibly in Sri Lanka.⁷⁵⁾

No. 174 Mahānāgatthera (Vis II-706)

No. 175 Mahā-Nāgatthera (SA II-166)

He was the elder brother of Cūḷa-Nāgatthera (No. 144) and came from a village named Vadhatalanagara.

No. 176 Mahā-Mittatthera (Vis I-38f.)

He dwelt in the Corakamahāvihāra and practised strictly the restraint of the faculties.

No. 177 Mahārohaṇaguttatthera (Vis I-155, 375; DhsA p. 187)

He lived in the Therambatthala(vihāra) situated quite probably in Cetiypabbata.⁷⁶⁾

No. 178 Mahāvācakāla-upāsaka (AA II-216)

No. 179 Mahāsivalitthera (MA III-433)

Although his nationality is uncertain, Malalasekera regarded him as a Sri Lankan commentator.⁷⁷⁾

No. 180 Miḷhābhayatthera (Vis I-79)

No. 181 Reva(ta)tthera (Vis I-95)

He lived in Malaya district.

No. 182 Lomasa-Nāgatthera (MA I-78)

He stayed at the meditation hall (padhānaghara) of the Piyaṅguguhā in Cetiypabbata.

No. 183 Visākhaththera (Vis I-312; AA V-83)

He was originally a wealthy man in Pāṭaliputta in India and later became a monk in the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura.

No. 184 Sāketa-Tissatthera (DA III-1061; MA II-140; AA I-77; IV-119)

He resided in the Kaṇḍikāravālikasamuddamahāvihāra. Adikaram regarded the above monastery he resided as Sri Lankan, and Sāketa-Tissa himself as a Sri Lankan.⁷⁸⁾

No. 185 Sudinnatthera (DA II-566; AA III-159)

Although it is not obvious whether he was a Sri Lankan or not, Adikaram regarded him as such.⁷⁹⁾

No. 186 Sumanadevatthera (DhsA p. 31)

He was called Gāmaṇḍī-Sumanadeva and was an expert on Abhidhamma

study.

No. 187 Soṇatthera (MA IV-125 ; AA II-17, 56 ; VibhA pp. 277, 306, 439)

Texts show slight variants concerning his monastery :

Pacelivihāra in MA,

Pañcalamahāvihāra in AA,

Pipphalivihāra in VibhA.

However, all the texts concerning him agree that his monastery was located at the foot of Soṇagiri, and that he was a *dharmakathika*. Yet his dates and the exact location of Soṇagiri itself are unknown. It is clear that he was a different person from Mahāsoṇatthera (No. 97) who was active in the period of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

No. 188 Sosānika-Mahākumārattthera (MA II-140 ; AA I-77)

Not only his dates, but also his nationality is uncertain ; yet Adikaram considered him to have been a Sri Lankan elder.⁸⁰⁾

Chapter IV. Conclusion

Of the 188 ancient Sri Lankans investigated in the two previous chapters, 128 persons in Chapter II could be dated, while the remaining 60 persons in Chapter III could not be dated by any means. The proportion of the datable persons to the undatable is over 2 to 1. This rate of more than 2/3 and the total of 128 datable persons can be regarded as reasonable numbers, from which the dates of the Sihaḷa sources for the Aṭṭhakathā texts can be investigated, and the conclusions drawn from this can be regarded as fully reliable.

From the investigation in Chapter II, the distribution of the 128 datable persons by period is as follows :—

Vijaya	: 5 persons
Paṇḍuvāsudeva	
Abhaya	
Paṇḍukābhaya	
Muṭṭasiva	

Devānampiyatissa	B.C. 250-210		: 19	
Uttiya				
Mahāsiva				
Sūratissa				
Sena				
Guttaka				
Asela				
Elāra			: 1	: 5
(Kākavaṇṇatissa in the south)			: 4	
Duṭṭhagāmaṇi	161-137		: 37	: 45
Saddhātissa	137-119		: 3	
Thūlatthana	119			
Lañjatissa	119-109			
Khallāṭa Nāga	109-103			
Mahārattaka				
Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya	103-102			: 32
Pulahattha				
Bāhiya				
Panayamāra	Dravidians	102-89		
Piḷayamāra				
Dāṭhika				
Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (restored)	89-77			
Mahācūḷi Mahātissa	76-62			
Coranāga	62-50		: 1	
Tissa	50-47			
Siva				
Vaṭuka		with Anuḷā		
Dārubbhatika Tissa				
Niliya				
Anuḷā (Queen)	47-42			
Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa	41-19		: 7	: 16
Bhātika Abhaya	B.C. 19-A.D. 9		: 5	
Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga	9-21		: 4	
Āmaṇḍa-Gāmaṇi Abhaya	22-31			

Kaṇirajānu Tissa	31-34	
Cūḷābhaya	34-35	
Queen Sivali [Revati]	35	
Iḷanāga	35-44	
Candamukha Siva	44-52	: 1
Yasalālaka Tissa	52-59	
Sabha [Subha]	59-65	
Vasabha	65-109	: 8
Vaṇkanāsika Tissa	109-112	
Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇī	112-134	
[Gajabāhu I]		
Mahallaka Nāga	134-140	
Bhātika Tissa [II]	140-164	
Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa	164-192	
Khujjanāga	192-194	
Kuñcanāga	194-195	
Siranāga I	195-214	
Vohārika Tissa	214-236	
Abhayanāga	236-244	
Sirināga II	244-246	
Vijaya-kumāra	246-247	
Saṅghatissa I	247-251	
Sirasaṅghabodhi	251-253	
Goṭhābhaya	253-266	
Jeṭṭhatissa I	266-276	
Mahāsena	276-303	: 1

On the basis of the above list, the following conclusions can be made. (1) The upper date limit of the Sihaḷa sources should first be discussed. The five kings, Vijaya (No. 1) to Muṭasiva (No. 5), who lived before King Devānampiyatissa are referred to as the earliest persons in the history of Sri Lanka. As has already been stated, however, they are referred to together only once in the *Bāhiranidāna* in the *Samantapāsādikā*. This is the "historical section" of the Aṭṭhakathā literature, of which

the sources are considered to have been common to the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*. These five kings are listed together in a part of the above *Bāhiranidāna*, which describes the legendary origin of the dynasty and its royal descendants. Yet their achievements or views on Buddhism are never related there. Only Muṭasiva, the fifth king, is referred to elsewhere in two places of the *Bāhiranidāna*: even in these places he is only referred to as the father of Devānampiyatissa, and his deeds or opinions are not mentioned. Moreover, in Parānavitana's list, the dates of their reigns are entirely blank: it is understandable that ancient Sri Lanka entered the age of recorded history in the reign of Devānampiyatissa, and that the period before him was a prehistoric and mythological time. Consequently, we should not judge the upper date limit of the Sihaḷa sources only from the statement in the *Bāhiranidāna*. Moreover, the succession of teachers in Sri Lanka in the *Ācariyaṭṭhapaṇṇāsa* begins with Mahindatthera (No. 20) and his fellow elders, who came from India in the reign of Devānampiyatissa: no Sri Lankan elders who lived before his reign are listed. Judging from these facts, the earliest upper date limit under discussion can be regarded as the period of the above king.

The number of persons who lived in this period total nineteen. Needless to say, this period is the beginning of the history of Sri Lanka as well as of Buddhism in that country. Yet the above figure of nineteen, which is rather large, should be further examined from the view point of their sources. The sources in the Aṭṭhakathā texts for the majority of the above nineteen persons are in fact limited to the *Bāhiranidāna* of the *Samantapāsādikā* (I, pp. 1-105). Of these nineteen, the persons who have their sources at some places other than the *Bāhiranidāna* number only five: Abhayatthera (No. 7), Iddhiyatthera (No. 10), Tissa-daharabhikkhu (No. 13), Tissadattatthera (No. 14), and Mahindatthera (No. 20). The remaining fourteen persons are referred to only in the *Bāhiranidāna*, which is, as stated above, a historical and legendary section telling of the foundation of Sri Lanka and the official transmission of Buddhism there. Accordingly it is not reasonable to treat those who appear only in the *Bāhiranidāna* and those who are referred to in various Aṭṭhakathā texts as well as the *Bāhiranidāna* on an equal basis. In short, only five

persons from the nineteen can be regarded as properly comparable with the other datable persons. Although five is very small number, the fact that they are referred to in many of the Aṭṭhakathās suggests that the formation of the Sihaḷa sources started from this period, i.e. the reign of Devānampiyatissa, when they lived. One point should be noted now. Of the above five persons, the three elders, i.e. Abhayatthera, Tissa-daharabhikkhu, and Tissadattatthera were active, as has already been explained, not only in the reign of Devānampiyatissa, but also in the reign of the next king, Uttiya or, in some cases, even in the reign of Uttiya's successor, Mahāsiva. Mahindatthera also lived until the eighth year of Uttiya's reign. From this point of view, the period of these five persons should not be limited to the reign of Devānampiyatissa, but should include one or two succeeding reigns. The seven reigns after Devānampiyatissa which take up fifty years, however, are again blank in Parānavitana's list. The average length of these reigns is about seven years. Therefore, the period of these five persons, i.e. the reign of Devānampiyatissa (B.C. 250-210) and the reigns of the one or two kings who succeeded him (about B.C. 210-200) take up the latter half of the third century B.C.

(2) The lower date limit of the Sihaḷa sources will secondly be discussed. At the latter part of the above list, there are two reigns to which some datable persons belong :

Vasabha's reign : 8 persons

Mahāsena's reign : 1 person

The only person who lived in the latter reign is not a monk or a nun, but King Mahāsena himself. As he can be regarded as an exception, the eight persons who lived in Vasabha's reign can be regarded in principle as the persons who demonstrate the lower date limit. That is to say, the main body of the Sihaḷa sources had been formed by this period, i.e. during the latter half of the first and the very beginning of the second century A.D.; and thereafter some minor additions were made to the body of the sources by the end of Mahāsena's reign, i.e. approximately by the end of the third century A.D. At this time, the formation of the Sihaḷa sources ceased. There is a period of 167 years

between the death of Vasabha and the accession of Mahāsena, during which sixteen kings ascended the throne. No Sri Lankans who lived in this period are referred to in the Aṭṭhakathās. There is, however, one name which stands out during the reigns of these two kings. It is the name of King Rudradāmaka (or Rudradāman) of India, whose coin is referred to in the *Samantapāsādikā* (II-297). As is well known, he was the third king of the so-called Western Kṣatrapa Dynasty, a dynasty of the Saka tribe, which ruled the Surāṣṭra (Kathiawal) and Malwa districts during the period between A.D. 130 and 388 or thereabouts. His reign cannot be dated exactly, but it was no doubt in the middle of the second century A.D.⁸¹⁾ Therefore, the reference to his coin in the Aṭṭhakathā text is the only case bridging the long interval between Vasabha (A.D. 65-109) and Mahāsena (A.D. 276-303).⁸²⁾

We can conclude that the lower date limit of all the Sihaḷa sources is the reign of Mahāsena. This reign is closely related with the lower date limit not only of the Aṭṭhakathā texts under consideration, but also of some other texts which are classified as a variety of Aṭṭhakathā literature in the broader sense of the term. For example, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa* (except for the later part known as *Cūlavāṃsa*), two of the main chronicles in ancient Sri Lanka, end their accounts with this reign. Moreover, the *Sihaḷavatthuppakaraṇa*, a Buddhist narrative with historical accounts, exceptionally contains a story concerning Mahāsena (Story No. 66), although most of the stories are directly or indirectly connected with King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and King Saddhātissa, who ruled successively in the middle and the latter half of the second century B.C. respectively. Thus Mahāsena is the person who gives the clue that enables us to determine the lower date limit of the Sihaḷa sources of the Aṭṭhakathās in question, as well as of some chronicles and of a Buddhist narrative text, which are also regarded as Aṭṭhakathā literature in the broad sense. In short, although the great majority of the Sihaḷa sources for the Aṭṭhakathā literature had already been composed and preserved in much earlier times, the final fixing of their form, after some minor and exceptional additions had been made to them, must have been in the reign of Mahāsena.

(3) Conclusions have been drawn about the upper and lower date limits of the Sihaḷa sources. Certain aspects of the intermediate period of these sources will be analysed next. From the list above, it is apparent that the number of persons who lived in particular reigns varies considerably. The largest number is 37, belonging to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's reign, and the second largest is 32 belonging to Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign. The former group contains some elders who were shown to have been active until the reign of the next king, Saddhātissa. Moreover, the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi follows on from the reign of Eḷāra (and Kākavaṇṇatissa), to which several persons belonged. If we regard these three successive reigns, i.e. 50-60 years in the second and third quarters of the second century B.C., as one period, then the persons who were active in this period amount to 45 in all, adding eight persons to the above 37: one from Eḷāra's reign, four from Kākavaṇṇatissa's reign in parallel, and three from Saddhātissa's reign. This figure of 45 far exceeds any other number.

The description of this period in the *Mahāvamsa* and other historical texts will now be discussed. In the reign of Kākavaṇṇatissa, the Sinhalese dynasty and its Buddhism were reduced to an obscure position in Rohaṇa, the southern region of the country, by the Dravidian Hindu forces which occupied Anurādhapura, the capital, and ruled the central and northern regions. Despite this situation, Kākavaṇṇatissa founded 64 monasteries and cetiyas altogether, including the Mahānugga Cetiya. Compared with him, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was a much greater and more famous king. He marched from Rohaṇa to Anurādhapura; defeated the army of the Dravidian king, Eḷāra; recovered the capital; and controlled the whole island. The *Mahāvamsa* devotes many pages to an account of his distinguished achievement of making Buddhism flourish. For instance, he first built in Anurādhapura the nine-storeyed Lohapāsāda as an "Upasatha Hall", and then the well-known Mahā Thūpa; and he also frequently gave large quantities of alms to the Order. Saddhātissa followed the same pattern as his predecessor, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi: he made some additions to the Mahā Thūpa; rebuilt the Lohapāsāda which had been burnt down; and founded eight monasteries, including the Dakkhinagīrivihāra. Thus the reigns of these three kings (especially of the latter two) can

be recognized as the first prosperous period of the nation and Sri Lankan Buddhism, which had gained a firm footing since its beginnings in the time of Devānampiyatissa.

The second largest concentration of datable persons can be seen in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi: the total is 32. He acceded to the throne twice. The period of about fifteen years between his two accessions was the period of "great peril", when the Dravidians invaded the country from South India and occupied the capital, destroying the Sinhalese forces. In addition Brāhmaṇa-Tissa (or -Tiya) instigated a serious riot and there was a severe famine. It was really a time of national crises as well as of Buddhist persecution. In these circumstances, many elders desperately protected their Order and lived up to the teachings. Their devoted activities during this peril was the cause of the brilliant revival of Buddhism in the second reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, when he was restored to the throne. The main historical events in this period were, of course, the founding of the Abhayagirivihāra and the writing down of the Tipiṭaka with its commentary for the first time. Buddhism in Sri Lanka must have been further developed in this period lasting about a quarter of a century (B.C. 103-77).

The reign of Devānampiyatissa is the third period in which the number of datable persons is concentrated. They total 19. As has already been discussed, however, this number contains the 14 persons who are referred to only in the *Bāhiranidāna* of the *Samantapāsādikā*, the historical section parallel to the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa*. These 14 persons should be omitted: the remaining 5 persons can be properly compared with the other datable persons referred to in all the Aṭṭhakathā texts. Consequently, the eight in vasabha's reign rank as the third largest number, and the seven in Kūṭakaṇṇatissa's reign rank as the fourth. In spite of the above figures, some other period could be taken up as the third largest. As we have considered in Chapter I, the figure belonging to a particular reign means only the total number of the datable persons who can be proved to have lived in that reign. Yet most of them must have been active in two or more reigns before or after: this is a more reasonable supposition. Therefore if we attach importance to the continuity of reign,

in which particular persons lived, the following grouping of three successive reigns is to be noticed:

Kūṭakaṇṇatissa's reign (B.C. 41-19) : 7 persons] : 16 persons
Bhāṭika Abhaya's reign (B.C. 19-A.D. 9) : 5	
Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga's reign (A.D. 9-21) : 4	

Incidentally, as in the case of Kākavaṇṇatissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and Saddhātissa, these three were father and sons, and elder and younger brothers: Kūṭakaṇṇatissa was the father of the other two Kings; Bhāṭika Abhaya was the elder brother of Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga. If we regard these three reigns as one period, it makes a duration of about 60 years, in which 16 persons altogether were active: it thus forms the third largest concentration of datable persons. Consequently this is a longer period than the reign of Vasabha, in which more persons lived. The reign of Vasabha (A.D. 65-109) continued more than 40 years, when eight persons were active: it makes the fourth largest concentration.

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*,⁸³⁾ the three above mentioned kings founded many monasteries and Upasatha halls; made repairs and additions to the Lohapāsāda and the Mahā Thūpa; and made various offerings to the Order or performed specific functions for the Order. In short, it can be considered that Buddhism in this period continued in peace and was continuously transmitted.

It is also stated that King Vasabha founded and repaired monasteries and gave alms on a large scale to the Orders in the whole country. Moreover he built twelve tanks in various places; assisted the poor and the diseased; strengthened the defence of the capital; and carried out the Vesākha-pūjā once a year for 44 years. He can also be recognized as a wise ruler who supported Buddhism well and improved the people's livelihood.⁸⁴⁾

With respect to the remaining reigns in which it can be proved that datable persons lived, the number of them in each reign is very small, and each reign is isolated from the others with intervals between them:—

Coranāga's reign	B.C. 62-50	: 1 person
Candamukha Siva's reign	A.D. 44-52	: 1 person
Mahāsena's reign	A.D. 276-303	: 1 person

The last reign has been discussed in detail above. All these three instances should be regarded as sporadic and exceptional.

(4) Having examined the periods in which datable persons lived, the periods in which no person was active will now be considered. As is clear from the list given earlier, these periods are as follows:—

- 1) Mahāsiva—Eḷāra : B.C. 200-170 : 30 years (?)
 - Sūratissa
 - Sena
 - Guttaka
 - Asela
- 2) Saddhātissa—Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya : B.C. 119-103 : 16 years
 - Thūlatthana B.C. 119
 - Lañjatissa 119-109
 - Khallāṭa Nāga 109-103
 - Mahārattaka
- 3) Vaṭṭagāmaṇi—Coranāga : B.C. 77-62 : 15 years
 - Mahācūḷi Mahātissa
- 4) Coranāga—Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa : B.C. 50-41 : 9 years
 - Tissa
 - Siva
 - Vaṭuka
 - Dārubbhatika Tissa
 - Niliya
 - Anuḷā (Queen) B.C. 47-42

with Anuḷā
- 5) Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga—Candamukha Siva : A.D. 21-44 : 23 years
 - Āmaṇḍa-Gāmaṇi Abhaya A.D. 22-31
 - Kaṇirajānu Tissa 31-34
 - Cūḷābhaya 34-35
 - Queen Sivali 35
 - Ḳanāga 35-44
- 6) Candamukha Siva—Vasabha : A.D. 52-65 : 13 years
 - Yasalālaka Tissa 52-59
 - Sabha [Subha] 59-65

These periods are not long, on average, and the length of each reign

is also very short. According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*⁸⁵, these periods were, generally speaking, times of political confusion and occasionally of civil war. Many kings killed their predecessors to obtain the throne and almost all of them were later killed by their successors who then usurped their throne, e.g. Mahārattaka, Tissa, Siva, Vaṭuka, Dātubhatika Tissa, Niliya, Anuḷā, Kaṇḍakajānu Tissa, Iḷanāga, Yasalālaka Tissa, and Sabha. Although there are records that a few kings exceptionally built new monasteries and other foundations, and repaired such famous buildings as the Lohapāsāda and Mahā Thūpa, most of the statements about these periods under discussion consist of accounts of political strife with bloodshed and domestic conflict. Buddhism at these times seems to have declined and there was a notable lack of enthusiasm. Under such circumstances, eminent monks and lay-followers could not be outstandingly active. Moreover, even if there were some noteworthy Buddhists in these periods no record of any deed they performed or view they held was preserved as source material for the Aṭṭhakathā texts.

(5) Finally, the aforementioned conclusions can be summed up as follows: —

The so-called Sihaḷa sources for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts seem to have begun to be composed in the reigns of Devānampiyatissa and of the one or two of those who succeeded him, when Buddhism was officially introduced from India to Sri Lanka, i.e. the period of about fifty years in the latter half of the third century B.C. A large portion of the sources was composed in the 50–60 year period centred around the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (B.C. 161–137), when Buddhism in Sri Lanka enjoyed its first period of prosperity. The next period in which the Sihaḷa sources were actively composed, lasted about forty years during the two reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (B.C. 103–102, 89–77) together with the time of all Dravidian rulers between those two reigns. The third vigorous period lasted about sixty years (B.C. 41–A.D. 21) in the successive reigns of Kūṭakaṇṇatissa, Bhātika Abhaya and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga. The fourth period was the reign of Vasabha (A.D. 65–109). By this time the composition of the great majority of the Sihaḷa sources had been completed. Afterwards only a few exceptional additions were made to the main

corpus. In the reign of Mahāsena (A.D. 276–303), the formation of the sources ceased entirely: after that time nothing was added to them; and they were well preserved until the time when the Pāli commentators wrote their Aṭṭhakathā texts based upon those sources in the fifth and sixth centuries or thereabouts. Consequently the real and substantial date of the Aṭṭhakathā texts should be regarded not as the date of the writing of the texts, but as the date of their source materials, which the present article has discussed in detail.

Abbreviations

References to Pāli texts refer to the Pāli Text Society's editions unless otherwise specified below.

AA	Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā, Manorathapūraṇi
ApA	Apadānaṭṭhakathā, Visuddhajanavilāsini
Bum	Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition
CNdA	Culla-Niddesaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammapajjotikā
Cv	Cūḷavaṃsa
DA	Dīghaṭṭhakathā, Sumaṅgalavilāsini
DAṬ	Dīghaṭṭhakathāṭikā, Linatthavaṇṇanā
DhsA	Dhammasaṅgaṇi-aṭṭhakathā, Atthasālini
DhsṬ	Dhammasaṅgaṇimūlaṭikā (Bum)
Dpv	Dīpavaṃsa
DPPN	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names (G.P. Malalasekera, London 1960 <first publication 1937–38> 2 vols.)
EHBC	Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon (E.W. Adikaram, Colombo 1953 <first impression 1946>)
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
JA	Jātakatṭhakathā
JSH	Journal of Buddhist Studies (Jōsai University, Saitama, Japan)
MA	Majjhimaṭṭhakathā, Papañcasūdanī
MAṬ	Majjhimaṭṭhakathāṭikā (Bum)
Mhv	Mahāvaṃsa
MhvṬ	Mahāvaṃsaṭikā, Vaṃsatthappakāsini

MNdA	Mahā-Niddesaṭṭhakathā, Saddhmapajjotikā
PTS	Pāli Text Society
PtsA	Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathā, Saddhmapakāsini
PugA	Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā
SA	Samyuttaṭṭhakathā, Sāratthappakāsini
SAṬ	Samyuttaṭṭhakathāṭṭhikā (Bum)
SHB	Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series (Colombo)
Sih	Sihaḷavattupakkaraṇa (A.P. Buddhadatta, ed. Kolibanagara, Sri Lanka 1959)
ThagA	Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā, Paramatthadipani
UC, CHC	University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon (C.W. Nicholas & S. Paranavitana, Colombo 1961)
UC, HC	University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon (H.C. Roy, &c. Colombo 1959-)
VA	Vinayaṭṭhakathā, Samantapāsādikā
VibhA	Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodanī
VibhṬ	Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāṭṭhikā (Bum)
Vis	Visuddhimagga
VisṬ	Visuddhimaggaṭṭhikā, Paramatthamañjūsā (Badari Nath Shukla, ed., Rewatadhamma, revised, 3 vols. Varanasi 1969-71)

Notes

- 1) This is the sequel to Part I of my article with the same title published in the previous volume of this journal (Vol. XVI, March 1987, pp. 151-182). The article is a revised and abridged translation of Part II of my Japanese book entitled, *Pāli Bukkhō Chūshaku-bunken no Kenkyū: Aṭṭhakathā no Jyōzabuteki Yōsō* (A Study of Pāli Commentaries: Theravādic aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās) Tokyo: Sankibo 1984, pp. 309-466.

I am grateful to Miss B.A. Scott, a British Visiting Professor, Women's Junior College of Jōsai University, Japan, for having looked over my English in the present article.

- 2) Mhv chap. XXIII, vv. 4-9.
3) VibhA p. 473.
4) Mhv chap. XVI, vv. 12-17.
5) AA I-23; II-30, 246ff.

- 6) SA III-23ff., 175.
7) No comment can be found concerning this question: MAT II-216, § 389; VibhṬ p. 218, § 850.
8) T. Hettiarachchy: *History of Kingship in Ceylon: up to the fourth century A.D.*, Colombo 1972, pp. 34ff.
9) DPPN I-573 (Kāla-Buddharakkhita); Adikaram: EHBC pp. 71-72.
10) Incidentally, Anuruddha was the main master (*upajjhāya*) of Mahāsumma, that is to say, the latter was a co-resident disciple (*saddhivihārika*) of the former. On the other hand, VA (I-263f.) mentions that Mahāsumma was a boarding pupil (*antevāsika*) of Upatissatthera (No. 75), i.e. Upatissa was Mahāsumma's deputy teacher (*nissaya-ācariya*). Deputy teachers are those who on request lead disciples of other elders (called *antevāsikas*) in the case of the disciples being unable to get teaching and guidance from their main and original masters (*upajjhāya*, cf. A. Hirakawa: *Genshi-bukkyō no Kenkyū* (A Study of Early Buddhism, in Japanese) Tokyo 1964, pp. 532-47). Therefore it is not impossible that Mahāsumma had two teachers, Anuruddha and Upatissa, because the former was his *upajjhāya* and the latter his *nissaya-ācariya*.
11) See the item No. 77.
12) UC, HC Vol. I, pt. 2, Genealogical Tables I, the Vijayan Dynasty.
13) Only here is he called Catunikāyikapāṇḍita-Tissatthera.
14) H. Ellawala: *Social History of Early Ceylon*, Sri Lanka 1969, p. 133.
15) Mhv chap. XXXII, vv. 29-30, 49-54.
16) MhvṬ (II-598) comments that *Kelāse* ti Kelāsakūṭa-mahāvihāre.
17) Cf. Mhv chap. XXXIII, vv. 37ff.
18) UC, HC Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 166-67, 244-45.
19) Mhv chap. XXXVI, vv. 19-20.
20) For instance, the cases of Mahānāgattthera (No. 50), Mahādattatthera (No. 48) and Cūlasumanatthera (No. 35) in the Vis II-634; of Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāga-Cūla-abhayatthera (Nos. 107, 106) in the AA I-26.
21) Mhv chap. XXXIX, vv. 11ff.
22) Cf. Dpv chap. VIII, v. 8; Mhv chap. V, vv. 161, 169; XII, 5, 37, etc.
23) In this connection, DPPN (II-509) describes these two Mahādhamma-rakkhitas as different, but this should be altered.
24) Dpv chap. XX, vv. 14ff.; Mhv chap. XXXIII, vv. 34ff.
25) Mhv chap. XXXIII, vv. 34-36.
26) VibhA p. 488.

- 27) UC, HC Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 165-67; DPPN II-342.
- 28) EHBC p. 82. Incidentally, Adikaram further identified the Mahātissa under discussion with Vanavāsi-Mahātissa by the following evidence: his view referred to above concerns disciplines for forest-dwelling monks (āraṇṇavāsi-bhikkhu) about whether or not the three kinds of robe (ti-cīvara) are necessary for their daily living. However, his view referred to above begins with the following passage: "Mayaṃ pubbe mahātherānam assumhā...." This indicates that his view is nothing but what he heard earlier from great elders (mahāthera), so that it is unnecessary to regard him as a forest-dweller (āraṇṇavāsin or vanavāsin). On the contrary, the possibility that Vanavāsi-Mahātissa was included among the great elders preaching to him about the disciplines of forest-dwellers could be recognized. Moreover, "Puṇṇavallika" where he resided (as stated above), according to the VisṬ (I-307, § 80), was the name of a vihāra: consequently he was almost certainly not a forest-dweller but a "monastery-dweller". He was never identified with Vanavāsi-Mahātissa contrary to what Adikaram supposed.
- 29) The passage concerning Tissabhūti in the AA (I-39) begins with "Aparo pi tasmim yeva Mahāvihāre Tissabhūtittthero nāma...." This is connected with the passage about Maliyadevatthera on the previous page of the text. The latter passage starts from "So kirāyasmā tivassabhikkhukāle Kallagāmato Maṇḍalārāmakamahāvihāre...." Therefore it is clear that "tasmim yeva mahāvihāre" in the former passage means "Maṇḍalārāmakamahāvihāre" stated in the latter one. Tissabhūti is accordingly concluded to have been Maṇḍalārāmakamahāvihāravāsi-Tissabhūti.
- 30) PtsA III-574 (with Mahādhammarakkhita and Cūlanāga); DhsA p. 230 (with Cūla-Abhaya and Cūlanāga); DhsA p. 267 (with Cūlanāga and Mahādhammarakkhita); DhsA p. 284 (with Cūlanāga); DhsA p. 286 (with Mahādhammarakkhita).
- 31) VisṬ III-1578, § 84, ll. 7-9.
- 32) In this connection, in the Mhv (chap. XXIII, v. 60) appears the name of a Mahāsummatthera, an inhabitant of the Koṭapabbatavihāra, but he was a different person from the one with the same name now in question. There is a record of another Mahāsummatthera also in the Mhv (chap. XXXIV, v. 3) saying that he was donated by King Mahācūḷi-Mahātissa (B.C. 76-62), the successor to King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. It is quite possible from the date to consider that he was the elder of the same name now in question.
- 33) Incidentally, "aṭṭhavassiko Saṅgharakkhitatthero" is referred to in the DhsA

- (p. 187) which originated from the Vis (I-375f.). Yet the original passage in the Vis not only of the PTS edition, but also of the HOS edition (p. 316, § 9; no comment upon this name is available in its commentary, VisṬ II-817, § 8) calls him "aṭṭhavassiko Rakkhitatthero". On the other hand, the Vis (I-155) also refers to an elder named "Buddharakkhita" who can be regarded as the same person judging from the content of the passage concerning him. Consequently, the above "Rakkhita" should be corrected as "Buddharakkhita", so that "Saṅgharakkhita" in the DhsA shown above should also be corrected to the same: "Buddharakkhita".
- 34) VisṬ I-116, § 91.
- 35) Mhv chap. XXXIV, vv. 11ff.
- 36) See the item on Mahādattatthera No. 92.
- 37) VibhA p. 81.
- 38) PugA p. 190.
- 39) See the item on Mahādattatthera No. 92.
- 40) With regards to his name, certain variants can be found: "Sumanatthera" in the text of the MA (I-155) of the PTS edition; "Summatthera" in its footnote; and "Sumatthera" in its Burmese edition MA (I-159)
- 41) Bum edition: MA I-159.
- 42) SHB edition: Vol. 35 (MA I) p. 140.
- 43) Mhv chap. XXXIV, vv. 37ff., esp. vv. 38, 67, 68.
- 44) Dpv chap. XXII, vv. 18, 20, 30, 31.
- 45) Mhv chap. XXXVI, vv. 1, 6.
- 46) Ex. DPPN II-370f.; EHBC p. 86.
- 47) UC, HC states, giving no reason or evidence, that Bhātika-Abhaya was also called Bhātika (or Bhātiya)-Tissa (p. 843, cf. pp. 173, 225, 246, 248) and UC, CHC follows this (p. 342). Even if this were true, my conclusion would not conflict with the above view in the two books, because only the name of "Bhātikarāja" or "Bhātiyarāja" occurs in the Aṭṭhakathā texts.
- 48) Mhv chap. XXXIV, vv. 68ff.; DAṬ II-172.
- 49) The DhsṬ (p. 185, § 1351) contains no comment about this name which occurs in the DhsA (p. 399).
- 50) Mhv chap. XIV, v. 56; XXII, 2ff.; Dpv chap. XI, v. 6; XVII, 75.
- 51) Dpv chap. XXI, v. 34; Mhv chap. XXXIV, vv. 68ff.; XXXV, 1.
- 52) Both the MA of the SHB edition (Vol. 49, p. 68, l. 2) and that of the Burmese edn. (III-66, l. 26) give the same name.
- 53) UC, HC Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 177.

- 54) Sodō Mori: "Mahāsīvatthera as Seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās", JSH Vol. XIV 1987, pp. 1-13. Cf. note 29 in pt. 1 of this article in the previous volume.
- 55) do.
- 56) DA II-543=SA III-281; DA III-883.
- 57) DA III-881=SA III-211; MA I-301; DA III-805.
- 58) DA I-202f.=MA I-269f.=SA III-198; DA II-375; DA II-430=MA IV-174.
- 59) DA II-511=AA IV-28=CNdA p. 60f.=Pṭsa p. 112; DA II-554=SA III-251=AA IV-149=UdA p. 323f.; DA III-736, 892, 976; DA III-1013=AA III-51=CNdA p. 122; MA II-286; SA III-302; DhsA pp. 220f. 226; DhsA p. 405=MNdA II-346; VA III-711; V-1101, 1138. Those sources linked by an equal sign contain identical passages.
- 60) The DAṬ (III-80) comments as follows: *Kāḷhālavāsi* ti Kāḷhālavihāravāsi.
- 61) Cf. Sodō Mori: "Sihaḷavatthuppakaraṇa and Pāli Aṭṭhakathā Literature", *Journal of the Society for the Study of Pāli and Buddhist Culture* Vol I, Nagoya 1988, p.
- 62) Cf. SAṬ II-133, ll. 3-4; Cv chap. LX, v. 59.
- 63) Cf. my article (n. 61) p.
- 64) SHB edn. Vol. 4: DA p. 353, l. 21; Bum edn.: DA II-104, l. 27.
- 65) EHBC p. 113.
- 66) See note 3 in pt. 1 of the present article in the previous volume.
- 67) See note 5 in the above article.
- 68) Cf. T. Hettiarachchy: *op. cit.* (n. 8) p. 52f.
- 69) Cf. DPPN I-705.
- 70) The Cv (chap. LXX, vv. 6ff., esp. v. 10) gives the name of a village, Nāgapabbata-gāma situated also in Malaya area, which seems to be identical with this place of the same name. Cf. DPPN II-43.
- 71) DPPN I-1115 (Devaputtaraṭṭha).
- 72) Concerning this place, see EHBC p. 122(17), cf. W. Geiger: the Cv English Translation, pt. I, London 1929, p. 66, n. 6.
- 73) Regarding his name, some variants can be found: "Reva" in the PTS edn. (I-95) and in notes of the Indian edn. (I-209, § 33, notes 2, 3); "Revata" in the HOS edn. (p. 77, § 51); "Deva" in the text of the Indian edn. (I-209, § 33) and in notes of the PTS edn. (I-95, notes 9, 10) and in notes of the HOS edn. (p. 77, notes 8, 9).
- 74) Cf. VisṬ III-1632, § 40.
- 75) Cf. Adikaram: EHBC p. 122(13).
- 76) Cf. VisṬ II-817, § 8; Geiger: the Mhv English Translation, London 1912

- p. 264, n. 3.
- 77) DPPN II-571.
- 78) Adikaram: EHBC, Appendices pp. vi, xi, cf. p. 121(12).
- 79) do. Appendices p. vi.
- 80) do. Appendices p. iii.
- 81) H. Nakamura: *Indo Kodaishi (A History of Ancient India, in Japanese)* Tokyo 1966, pp. 235-40.
- 82) According to UC, HC (Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 227), no coin of King Rudrāmaka has as yet found in Sri Lanka: Buddhaghosa seems to have gained his knowledge about this coin somehow during his days in India or from his source material of Indian origin while staying in Anurādhapura.
- 83) Dpv chap. XX, vv. 31-35; XXI, 1-33; Mhv chap. XXXIV, vv. 28-94.
- 84) Dpv chap. XXII, vv. 1-11; Mhv chap. XXXV, vv. 77-100.
- 85) 1) Dpv chap. IXX, vv. 45-49; Mhv chap. XXI, vv. 4-14. 2) Dpv XX, 8-14; Mhv XXXIII, 14-34. 3) Dpv XX, 22-23; Mhv XXXIV, 1-10. 4) Dpv XX, 25-30; Mhv XXXIV, 14-27. 5) Dpv XXI, 34-45; Mhv XXXV, 1-45. 6) Dpv XXI, 46-48; Mhv XXXV, 49-58.

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UTTARAVIHĀRAṬṬHAKATHĀ AND SĀRASAMĀSA
Some Unattributed Non-Mahāvihāravāsin
Sources for the Pāli Commentaries

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UTTARAVIHĀRAṬṬHAKATHĀ AND SĀRASAMĀSA¹
Some Unattributed Non-Mahāvihāravāsin Sources for the Pāli
Commentaries*

Contents:

1. Controversial Points and Methodology
2. Examples found in the Visuddhimagga
3. Examples found in the Dīghaṭṭhakathā
4. Examples found in the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā
5. Examples found in the Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā
6. Conclusion

1. Controversial Points and Methodology

The study of the sources is one of the most important and basic subjects in the field of Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature². The source material for this literature can be classified into six main groups:

1. The Tipiṭaka, i.e. the Pāli Canon
2. Three post-canonical texts: the Nettipakaraṇa, Peṭakopadesa and Milindapañha
3. The Pāli Aṭṭhakathās themselves
4. The so-called Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā
5. Sources from schools other than the Mahāvihāra fraternity
6. Other minor sources

The fifth of these can be further divided into two:

- a. Views attributed to "Some" or "Others"
- b. Views attributed to "Sophists" (Vitaṇḍavādins)

Of these two, the latter has been discussed by me not only in Japanese³ but also in English⁴; the former will be studied here.

The Pāli Aṭṭhakathās which have been transmitted down to the present time by the Mahāvihāra fraternity of the Theravāda school as its own texts frequently quote or refer to the views of "some" or "others" (aṃṃe, itare, ekacce, eke, keci, pare, ye... te..., etc). These are almost always referred to in the plural form, which indicates a certain group, not a particular individual. The number of references is altogether about six hundred⁵. The names of these "others" are not usually given. Although the majority of them are unknown, some can be identified, through comments in the Tīkā, the commentaries on the Aṭṭhakathās. Those which are so identified can be divided into three groups:

1. The Abhayagirivihāra fraternity and its offshoot, i.e. the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity of the Theravāda school
2. Some groups (sometimes particular individuals) belonging to the Mahāvihāra fraternity
3. Mahāyāna or Hinayāna schools other than the Theravādins

Of these three, the first is the largest in number and of the greatest importance. The references in the Tīkā are to "Abhayagirivāsino", "Uttaravihāravāsino (-vāsikā, -vāsikatherā)", "Sārasamāsa-ācariyā", "Upatissa as the author of the Vimuttimaggā", etc. These names are always in the plural with the exception of "Upatissa".

In addition, there can be found the proper name "Sārasamāsa", which is always in the locative singular, except in the compound "Sārasamāsa-ācariyā". This must be the name of a text. These names can be recognized as referring to non-Mahāvihāra fraternities or their texts. By investigating these unattributed quotations from the non-Mahāvihāravāsins, the present article aims to make clear the nature of the Aṭṭhakathā source materials as well as a certain relation between the Mahāvihāra and the non-Mahāvihāra traditions.

Several scholars have already paid attention to these unattributed sources. For instance, Rev. Nyanatiloka drew attention to those

which appear in the Visuddhimagga in his German translation of that text⁶, as did Professor Mizuno in his Japanese translation of the same text⁷, and also Rev. Nyanamoli in his English translation of the Visuddhimagga⁸. Professor Bapat also referred to them in his comparative study of the Vimuttimaggā and the Visuddhimagga⁹. Professor de Silva threw new light on the unnamed figures mentioned in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini in the introduction to her edition of the Dīghaṭīkā¹⁰. With reference to the unattributed sources found in the Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā and other Aṭṭhakathās, Dr. Horner published two articles in recent years¹¹. All these studies, however, either are limited to a particular text or are too brief in their discussion, so that they never do more than bring the matter forward for consideration or point out the problems. Accordingly, there has as yet been no comprehensive research of a kind that can be expected to produce reliable conclusions.

I shall now explain my methodology. The unnamed sources which are identified as non-Mahāvihāravāsins (with the various expressions already stated) in the Tīkā¹² are forty-one in number, and they are found as follows:

1	[1]	Vism I 80	
2	[2]	Vism I 102	
3	[3]	Vism I 148	
4	[4]	Vism I 268	= [35]
5	[5]	Vism II 432	= [38]
6	[6]	Vism II 450	
7	[7]	Vism II 700	
<hr/>			
8	[8]	Sv I 80	= [28], [37], [41]
9	[9]	Sv I 84	
10	[10]	Sv I 86f	= [36]
11	[11]	Sv I 93	
12	[12]	Sv I 114	
13	[13]	Sv I 150	

14	[14]	Sv I 152	
15	[15]	Sv I 162	= [30]
16	[16]	Sv I 184	= [27], [34], [40]
17	[17]	Sv I 250	
18	[18]	Sv II 437	
19	[19]	Sv II 514	
20	[20]	Sv II 642	= [39]
<hr/>			
21	[21]	Ps I 28	
22	[22]	Ps I 38	
23	[23]	Ps I 54	
24	[24]	Ps I 63	
25	[25]	Ps I 69	= [33]
26	[26]	Ps I 123	
	[27]	Ps I 253	= [16], [34], [40]
	[28]	Ps I 211	= [8], [37], [41]
27	[29]	Ps II 302	
	[30]	Ps III 230	= [15]
28	[31]	Ps IV 62	
<hr/>			
29	[32]	Spk I 208	
	[33]	Spk II 42	= [25]
	[34]	Spk III 183	= [16], [27], [40]
	[35]	Spk III 270	= [4]
<hr/>			
	[36]	Mp II 293	= [10]
	[37]	Mp III 194	= [8], [28], [41]
<hr/>			
	[38]	As 421	= [5]
<hr/>			
	[39]	Vibh-a 308	= [20]
	[40]	Vibh-a 348	= [16], [27], [34]
<hr/>			
	[41]	Pp-a 241	= [8], [28], [37]

In the above list, the second column shows their original numbers and the fourth column other passages that are basically the same. Most of these duplicated examples are identical not only with respect to the unattributed quotations themselves but also to the passages which precede and follow. Therefore, the number in the first column in this list indicates the real number, excluding all duplications. That is to say, the total number of all the examples amounts to forty-one, while the real number of examples after eliminating the duplicates is twenty-nine. Although each example usually contains only one unattributed quotation, in some instances several quotations are found together, so that each example consists of a passage concerning one topic but not necessarily one quotation: in some instances there is more than one quotation. The twenty-nine examples are distributed as follows: seven in the Visuddhimagga, thirteen in the Dīghaṭṭhakathā, eight in the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā, and one in the Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā. In the following sections of this article, they will be examined one by one in the order in which they appear in the list given above.

2. Examples found in the Visuddhimagga

1. Example One

A. Vism (I 79 foll.)

Tattha kusalattikato ti sabbān' eva hi dhutaṅgāni sekhaputhujjanakhīṇāsavānaṃ vasena siyā kusalāni, siyā avyākatāni, n' atthi dhutaṅgaṃ akusalan ti . . . **Yesam** pi kusalattikavinimuttaṃ dhutaṅgaṃ, tesam atthato dhutaṅgaṃ eva n' atthi. Asantaṃ kassa dhunanato dhutaṅgaṃ nāma bhavissati, dhutaṅgaṃ samādāya vattatīti vacanavirodho pi ca nesam āpajjati; tasmā taṃ na gahetabban ti.

B. Vism-mhṭ (I 180, 4-6)

Yesan ti Abhayagirivāsike sandhāyāha. Te hi dhutaṅgaṃ nāma paṇṇatti ti vadanti. Tathā sati tassa paramatthato avijjamānato kilesānaṃ dhunanaṭṭho pi na siyā, samādātabbatā cā ti tesam vacanaṃ Pāliya virujjhati ti dassetuṃ - "kusallatikavinimuttaṃ" ti ādi vuttaṃ.

C. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 406b)^a

Question: Who is called an observer of the ascetic practice (dhutaṅga)? How many kinds of the ascetic practice are there? . . . *Answer:* There are thirteen ascetic practices: these are taught by the Buddha and are the precepts of the Buddha. These are called the asectic practice. As regards them, the skilful (kusala), the unskilful (akusala) and the non-characterizable (avyākata) should not be discussed.

D. mam par grol baḥi lam las slyāṃs paḥi yon tan bstan pa¹³

De la sbyaṃs paḥi yan lag ni ci žig yin l . . . De la sbyaṃs paḥi yan lag ces bya ba ni gzi bcu gsum po de dag gi spoṇ ba gaṇ yin pa de ni sbyaṃs paḥi yan lag yin no l Sbyaṃs paḥi yon tan cir brjod par bya že na l dge bar brjod par byaḥo l

As shown above, the view on the dhutaṅga, which is recorded as a divergent opinion in the Visuddhimagga (A), and which is said to be that of the Abhayagirivāsikas in its Tikā (B), accords with a view stated in the Gedatsudōron, the Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga (C). On the other hand, the Tibetan translation of Vim (D) does not agree with the Gedatsudōron (C) in this passage.

2. Example Two

A. Vism (I 102 foll.)

Tatra purimā tāva tisso cariyā pubbācīṇṇanidānā dhātudosanidānā cā ti **ekacce** vadanti. Pubbe kira iṭṭhappayogasubhakkamabahulō

rāgacarito hoti; saggā vā cavitvā idhūpapanno. Pubbe chedanavadhabandhanaverakammabahulo dosacarito hoti; nirayanāgayonihi vā cavitvā idhūpapanno. Pubbe majjapānabahulo sūtaparipucchāvihino ca mohacarito hoti, tiracchānayoniya vā cavitvā idhūpapanno ti. Evaṃ pubbācīṇṇanidānā ti vadanti. Dvinnaṃ pana dhātūnaṃ ussannattā puggalo mohacarito hoti: pathavidhātuyā ca āpodhātuyā ca. Itarāsaṃ dvinnaṃ ussannattā dosacarito. Sabbāsaṃ samattā pana rāgacarito ti. Dosesu ca semhādhiko rāgacarito hoti, vātādhiko mohacarito, semhādhiko vā mohacarito, vātādhiko vā rāgacarito ti evaṃ dhātudosanidānā ti vadanti.

B. Vism-mhṭ (I 221, 8)

Ekacce ti Upatissattheraṃ sandhāyāha, tena hi Vimuttimagge tathā vuttaṃ.

C. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 410a)^b

Question: What are the causes of these three kinds of behaviour? How may it be known that this is a man of greedy temperament, that is a man of angry temperament and yet another is a man of infatuated temperament? . . . *Answer:* Deeds done in the past are causes of behaviour. The elements are causes of behaviour. The cardinal humours are causes of behaviour. How do deeds done in the past become causes of behaviour? One who has accumulated good actions in past existences through desirable means becomes a man of greedy temperament, and also one who, passing away from a heavenly mansion, is reborn here. One who (in past existences) has perpetrated many undesirable deeds of killing, maiming, capturing and bearing a grudge becomes a man of angry temperament, and also one who, passing away from hell or a serpent state, is reborn here. One who (in past existences) has enjoyed much drinking and has been devoid (of learning and questioning) becomes a man of infatuated temperament, and also one who, passing away from a bestial state, is reborn here. Thus

deeds done in the past become causes of behaviour. How do elements become causes of behaviour? Because of the heightening of two elements, one becomes a man of infatuated temperament. These are the earth element (element of extension) and the water element (element of cohesion). Because of the heightening of two elements, one becomes a man of angry temperament. These are the fire element (element of heat) and the wind element (element of mobility). Because of the equalising of all elements, one becomes a man of greedy temperament. Thus the different elements become causes of behaviour. How do the cardinal humours become causes of behaviour? One who has an excess of phlegm becomes a man of greedy temperament. One who has an excess of choler becomes a man of angry temperament, and one who has an excess of wind becomes a man of infatuated temperament.

There is another view: one who has an excess of phlegm becomes a man of infatuated temperament and one who has an excess of wind becomes a man of greedy temperament. Thus the cardinal humours become causes of behaviour.

The above comment of the Visuddhimaggaṭīkā (B) is the only reference so far known to Upatissa, the author of the Vimuttimagga, and also to the text itself throughout all the Aṭṭhakathās and Tīkāś. From this comment it is certain that Dhammapāla, the author of the Paramatthamañjūsā, consulted the Vimuttimagga of Upatissa. The above passage from the Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga (C) basically corresponds with the quotation by 'Some' in the Visuddhimagga (A).

3. Example Three

A. Vism (I 148)

Tatra paṭipadā-visuddhi nāma sasambhāriko upacāro, upekkhānubrūhaṇā nāma appanā, sampahaṃsanā nāma paccavekkhaṇā ti evaṃ **eke** vaṇṇayanti. Yasmā pana: ekattagataṃ

cittaṃ paṭipadā-visuddhi pakkhannaṃ¹⁴ c' eva hoti upekkhānubrūhitaṃ ca, ñāṇena ca sampahaṃsitaṃ ti. Pāliyaṃ vuttaṃ, tasmā anto appanāyaṃ eva āgamanavasena paṭipadā-visuddhi. Tatra majjhattupekkhāya kiccavasena upekkhānubrūhaṇā, dhammānaṃ anativattanādibhāvasādhanaṇa pariyodāpakassa ñāṇassa kiccanipphattivasena sampahaṃsanā ca veditabbā.

B. Vism-mhṭ (I 314, 11-12)

Eke ti Abhayagirivāsino. Te hi evaṃ paṭipadā-visuddhi-ādike vaṇṇayanti, tad ayuttaṃ.

C. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 417a)^c

(The three kinds of goodness: there are the initial, medial and final stages of goodness. Purity of practice is the initial stage; the increase of equanimity is the medial stage; and rejoicing is the final stage.) What is the purity of practice? It is the foundation of all goodness. What is the increase of equanimity? It is the fixed meditation (appanā samādhi). What is rejoicing? It is reviewing (paccavekkhaṇā). Thus there are three kinds of goodness in the First Meditation.

If we compare the quotation from **eke**, i.e. the Abhayagirivāsins, in the Visuddhimagga (A) with the parallel passages in the Gedatsudōron (C), we find that these passages on the three kinds of goodness in the First Meditation accord with one another, except for the explanation of the purity of practice (paṭipadā-visuddhi). This minor difference arises probably from an incorrect translation into Chinese.

4. Example Four

A. Vism (I 266)

Idāni yan taṃ Bhagavatā: "Ayaṃ pi kho, bhikkhave, ānāpānasati-samādhī bhāvito bahulikato santo c' eva paṇito ca asecanako ca sukho ca vihāro uppannuppanne ca pāpake akusale dhamme tñāso antaradhāpeti vūpasameti" ti evaṃ pasamsivā; - "Kathaṃ bhāvito ca, bhikkhave, ānāpānasati-samādhī? Kathaṃ bahulikato santo c' eva paṇito ca asecanako ca sukho ca vihāro uppannuppanne ca pāpake akusale dhamme tñāso antaradhāpeti vūpasameti? . . ."

B. Vism (I 268)

Asecanako ca sukho ca vihāro ti ettha pana n' āssa secanan ti asecanako; anāsittako abbokiṇṇo pāṭiyekko¹⁵ āveṇiko. N' atthi ettha parikkammaṃ vā upacārena vā santatā; ādi-samannāhārato pabhūti attano sabhāven' eva santo ca paṇito cā ti attho. **Keci** pana asecanako ti anāsittako ojavanto sabhāven' eva madhuro ti vadanti. Evaṃ ayaṃ asecanako¹⁶ ca appitappitakkhaṇe kāyikacetasikasukhapāṭilābhāya saṃvattanato sukho ca vihāro ti veditabbo.

C. Vism-mhṭ (I 566, 8)

Keci ti Uttaravihāravāsike sandhāyāha.

D. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 429c)^d

Question: What is the concentration by respiration? What is the practising of it? What are its salient characteristic, function, near cause and benefits? What is its procedure? *Answer:* Inhalation (āna) is in-breathing. Exhalation (apāna) is out-breathing. On the occasion of in-breathing and out-breathing, one concentrates, is concentrated and is rightly concentrating. This is called the concentration by in-breathing and out-breathing. The state in which one's mind is steady and undisturbed is called the practising of it. Causing the arising of perception as regards respiration is its salient characteristic. Attending to contact (phassa) is its function. Removal of discursive thought (vitakka) is its near cause. What

are its benefits? If a man practises the concentration of respiration, he attains to the calm (santa), the exquisite (paṇita), the brilliant and lovely, and the blissful life (sukha vihāra).

This example, which is concerned with the exposition on "ānāpānasati" is exceptionally specific. It begins with two quotations from the Saṃyuttanikāya (A). After quoting these two passages from SN (V 321 §9; V 322 §11), Buddhaghosa comments on some words or phrases in the latter quotation. When commenting upon them, he refers to the Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā of the Mahāvihāra. Buddhaghosa's comments, with almost identical wording, recur in Spk¹⁷. On the other hand, the parallel passage in the Gedatsudōron (D) does not contain any quotation from SN at this point, though it partially accords with the second quotation of Vism; with the result that it does not, unlike SN, have any comment on "asecanaka". Consequently, Buddhaghosa must have consulted the Saṃyutta commentary of the Uttaravihāra and taken from it an alternative explanation. It is to be noted that the explanation of "asecanaka" by the Uttaravihāra is not criticised or denied here by him.

5. Example Five

A. Vism (II 432)

Tattha **keci** khaṇapaccuppannaṃ cittaṃ cetopariyaññassa ārammaṇaṃ hoti ti vadanti. Kiṃ kāraṇā? Yasmā iddhimato ca parassa ca ekakkhaṇe cittaṃ uppajati ti; idaṃ ca nesam opammaṃ: - Yathā ākāse khitte pupphamutthimhi avassaṃ ekam puppham ekassa vaṇṭena vaṇṭaṃ paṭivijjhati, evaṃ parassa cittaṃ jānissāmi ti rāsivasena mahājanassa citte āvajjite avassaṃ ekassa cittaṃ ekena cittena uppādakkhaṇe vā tñitikkhaṇe vā bhaṅgakkhaṇe vā paṭivijjhati ti. Taṃ pana vassasataṃ pi vassasahassaṃ pi āvajjanto yena ca cittena āvajjati, yena ca jānāti, tesam dvinnam sahaṭṭhānābhāvato āvajjanajavanānaṃ ca anitṭhaṭṭhāne nānārammaṇabhāvappattidosato ayuttan ti Aṭṭhakathāsu

paṭikkhittam. Santatipaccuppannam pana addhāpaccuppannañ ca ārammaṇam hoti ti veditabbam.

B. Vism-mhṭ (II 935, 13)

Keci ti Abhayagirivāsino.

The explanation attributed to "some", i.e. the Abhayagirivāsins, in the Visuddhimagga cannot be found in the Gedatsudōron¹⁸. Buddhaghosa quotes it not from the Gedatsudōron, but from some old Aṭṭhakathās which were his source materials and which are referred to at the end of the above passage (A). From this evidence, it is clear that some old commentaries of the Mahāvihāra had a reference on this matter to the view of the Abhayagiri, which was rejected by Buddhaghosa.

6. Example Six

A. Vism (II 450)

Imāni tāva Pāliyaṃ āgaṭarūpān' eva. Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana balarūpaṃ, sambhavarūpaṃ, jātirūpaṃ, rogarūpaṃ, **ekaccānaṃ** matena middharūpaṃ ti evaṃ aññāni pi rūpāni āharitvā: addhā munī 'si sambuddho, n' atthi nīvaraṇā tavā ti ādini vatvā middharūpaṃ tāva n' atthi yevā ti paṭikkhittam. Itaresu rogarūpaṃ jaratā-aniccatā-gaḥaṇena gahitam eva, jātirūpaṃ upacaya-santatigahaṇena, sambhavarūpaṃ āpodhātugahaṇena, balarūpaṃ vāyodhātugahaṇena gahitam eva. Tasmā tesu ekaṃ pi visuṃ n' atthi ti sannipphānaṃ kamaṃ.

B. Vism-mhṭ (II 988, 3)

Ekaccānaṃ ti Abhayagirivāsinaṃ.

C. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, 445c)^e

What are the derived material qualities (upādā-rūpas)? These are the sense-organs of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, matter as a sense-object, sound as a sense-object, odour as a sense-object, taste as a sense-object, femininity, masculinity, life-principle, body-intimation, speech-intimation, element of space, buoyancy of matter, impressibility of matter, adaptability of matter, integration of matter, continuity of matter, occurrence of matter, decay of matter, impermanency of matter, solid food, the basis of the material element and the material quality of torpor.

According to the Khandhaniddeṣa in the Visuddhimagga (II 443 *fol.*), the rūpakkhanda is divided into the four bhūta-rūpas and the twenty-four upādā-rūpas: the former are the paṭhavī-dhātu, āpo-dhātu, tejo-dhātu and vāyo-dhātu, while the latter are cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jivhā, kāya, rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, itthindriya, purisindriya, jīvitindriya, hadayavatthu, kāyaviññatti, vacīviññatti, ākāśadhātu, rūpassa lahutā, rūpassa mudutā, rūpassa kammaññatā, rūpassa upacaya, rūpassa santati, rūpassa jaratā, rūpassa aniccatā and kabalīnkarāhāra.

Immediately after the passage listing these twenty-eight rūpakkhandas (in the Visuddhimagga), we find the above quotation (A), which states that some others (ekacce) include the middharūpa in them. According to the Visuddhimaggaṭīkā (B), it is clear that these others were the Abhayagirivāsins. On the other hand, the Gedatsudōron (C) lists twenty-six upādā-rūpas. Almost all of them are the same as those in the Visuddhimagga, but the middha-rūpa is exceptionally included in them, as was pointed out by Dhammapāla. He must have known this passage of the Gedatsudōron.

7. Example Seven

A. Vism (II 700)

Ye pana vadanti: sotāpanno: phalasamāpattiṃ samāpajjissāmi ti vipassanaṃ paṭṭhapetvā sakadāgāmi hoti, sakadāgāmi ca anāgāmi ti, te vattabbā: evaṃ sati anāgāmi arahā bhavissati, arahā paccekabuddho, paccekabuddho ca buddho; tasmā na kiñci etam, Pālivasen' eva ca paṭikkhittan ti pi na gahetabbaṃ. Idam eva pana gahetabbaṃ: sekhasā pi phalam eva uppajjati, na maggo. Phalañ c' assa sace tena paṭhamajjhāniko maggo adhigato hoti, paṭhamajjhānikam eva uppajjati. Sace dutiyādisu aññatarajjhāniko, dutiyādisu aññatarajjhānikam evā ti. Evaṃ tāv' assā samāpajjanaṃ hoti.

B. Vism-mhṭ (III 1662, 1-2)

Ye panā ti Abhayagirivāsino sandhāyāha. Te hi maggaḥphalavipassanāya āloḍetvā vadanti.

The unnamed persons (ye ..., te ...) who are referred to in the Visuddhimagga (A) can be identified as the Abhayagirivāsins, according to its commentary (B). We cannot, however, find any passage closely corresponding to the above quotation of their view (in the Gedatsudōron); we can only find in this text an explanation which seems to have been made to answer the above criticism of the Mahāvihāra fraternity^f.

3. Examples found in the Dīghaṭṭhakathā

1. Example Eight

A. Sv (I 80) commenting upon DN (I 5)

Sāci-yogo ti kuṭila-yogo. Etesaṃ yeva ukkoṭanādinam etaṃ nāmaṃ. Tasmā ukkoṭana-sāci-yogā vañcana-sāci-yogā nikati-sāci-yogā ti evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo. Keci aññaṃ dassetvā aññassa parivattanaṃ sāci-yogo ti vadanti, tam pana vañcanen' eva saṃgahitaṃ.

B. Sv-ṭ (I 160)

Keci ti Sārasamāsācariyā Uttaravihāravāsino ca.

From the above comment' of the Dīghaṭṭikā (B), it is obvious that although the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas were not identical with the Uttaravihāravāsins, nevertheless they had so close a relationship with one another that they shared a common explanation on this subject. Further examples will be shown later on. Incidentally, the above quotation of Sv (A), together with the preceding and following passages, is basically the same as those of the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā (II 211), the Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā (III 194) and the Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā (241). Of these parallel passages, the comments of the Majjhimaṭṭikā upon Ps¹⁹ and of the Aṅguttaraṭṭikā upon Mp²⁰ accord with that of the Dīghaṭṭikā upon Sv; whereas the Puggalapaññattiṭikā upon Pp-a²¹ does not give any comment on this passage.

2. Example Nine

A. DN (I 6)

"Yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā saddhā-deyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te evarūpaṃ visūka-dassanaṃ anuyuttā viharanti - seyyathidaṃ naccaṃ gītaṃ vādiṭaṃ pekkhaṃ akkhānaṃ pañissaraṃ vetālaṃ kumbha-thūṇaṃ sobha-nagaraṃ . . . anika-dassanaṃ - iti vā iti evarūpā visūka-dassanā paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo ti".

B. Sv (I 84)

Pekkhan ti naṭa-samajjā. Akkhānaṃ ti . . . Pañissaraṃ ti . . . Vetālaṃ ti ghana-tālaṃ, mantena mata-sariruthāpanan ti pi **eke**. Kumbha-thūṇan ti caturassara-ammanaka-tālaṃ, kumbha-saddan ti pi **eke**. Sobhanagaraṃ ti, naṭānaṃ abbhokkīraṇaṃ, sobhanagaraṃ vā paṭibhānacittan ti vuttaṃ hoti.

C. Sv-ṭ (I 163)

Sārasamāse pana pekkhaṃ mahan ti vuttaṃ . . . **Eke** ti Sārasamāsācariyā Uttaravihāravāsino ca. Yathā c' ettha evaṃ ito paresu pi **eke** ti āgataṭṭhāne . . . Sobhanagarakan ti sobhanāgārakaṃ. Sobhanagarakan ti Sārasamāse vuttaṃ.

By the expression "Sārasamāse" (locative masculine singular) in the above passage (C), it is clearly proved that the Sārasamāsa was the name of a text, implying that the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas are the teachers who composed and transmitted this text.

3. Example Ten

A. DN (I 7)

"Yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā saddhā-deyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te evarūpaṃ uccāsayaṇa-mahāsayaṇaṃ anuyuttā viharanti - seyyathidaṃ āsandiṃ pallaṅkaṃ gonakaṃ cittaṃ paṭikaṃ paṭalikaṃ tūlikaṃ vikatikaṃ uddha²²-lomīṃ kaṭṭhissaṃ . . ."

B. Sv, Sv-ṭ

(1) Sv (I 86): pallaṅko ti pādesu vāla-rūpāni ṭhapetvā kato. Sv-ṭ (I 164): Vāla-rūpāni ti āharimāni vālarūpāni. Akappiyarūp' ākulo akappiyamañño pallaṅko ti Sārasamāse.

(2) Sv (I 87): Uddha²³-lomī ti ubhato dasaṃ unṇāmayattharaṇaṃ. **Keci** ekato uggata-pupphan ti vadanti. Sv-ṭ (I 164): Uddhalomiyam **keci** ti Sārasamāsācariyā Uttaravihāravāsino ca.

(3) Sv (I 87): Ekanta-lomī ti ekato dasaṃ unṇāmayattharaṇaṃ. **Keci** ubhato uggata-pupphan ti vadanti. Sv-ṭ (I 164 - continued from (2) above): Tathā ek' antalomiyam.

The same comment as Sv given above can be seen in Mp (II 292 foll.), and the comment of Sv-ṭ upon Sv shown above is also identical with that of Mp-ṭ (II 158, 7-8, 10) upon that passage of Mp.

4. Example Eleven

A. Sv (I 93) commenting upon DN (I 9)

Bhūri-vijjā ti bhūri-ghare vasantena uggahetabba-manto.

B. Sv-ṭ (I 167)

Bhūrivijjā sassavuddhikaraṇavijjā ti Sārasamāse.

(A) is, needless to say, the orthodox view of the Mahāvihāra given by Buddhaghosa and (B) is a divergent comment of the Sārasamāsa introduced by Dhammapāla.

5. Example Twelve

A. DN (I 19)

Santi, bhikkhave, Khiddā-padosikā nāma devā. Te ativelam hassakhiḍḍā-rati-dhamma-samāpannā viharanti. Tesam ativelam hassa-khiḍḍā-rati-dhamma-samāpannānaṃ viharataṃ sati mussati, satiyā sammosā te devā tamhā kāyā cavanti.

B. Sv (I 114)

Katame pana te devā ti? Ime nāmā ti aṭṭhakathāya vicāranā n' atthi. Devatānaṃ kammaja-tejo balavā hoti, karajam mandan ti avisesena vuttatā pana ye **keci** kabalinkārāhārūpajivino devā evaṃ karonti, te evaṃ cavanti ti veditabbā, ye **keci** pan' āhu Nimmānarati-Paranimmīta²⁴-vasavattino te devā ti. Khiddāya padussana-matten' eva h' ete khiḍḍā-padosikā ti vuttā.

C. Sv-ṭ (I 207)

Kecī ti Abhayagirivāsino.

This is a very useful and interesting example. When Buddhaghosa was about to comment on the words "te devā" in DN, he could not find anything concerning this phrase in the old commentary of the Mahāvīhāra, called simply "Aṭṭhakathā" here. He then consulted a commentary of the Abhayagiri, which gave the above comment upon "te devā" (B). It goes without saying that "te devā" (these heavenly beings), the particular phrase under consideration, is neither a technical term on doctrine nor a proper name, but a specific phrase which is to be properly commented upon only in a particular context. In other words, this phrase has no general meaning, independent of a particular context. Therefore the text which commented upon this phrase must have been a commentary, not an Abhidhammic thesis or a dictionary work. Some similar instances will be seen later.

6. Example Thirteen

A. DN (I 49 foll.)

Atha kho rañño Māgadhassa Ajātasattussa Vedehi-puttassa avidūre Ambavanassa ahud eva bhayaṃ, ahu chambhitattaṃ ahu lomahaṃso. Atha kho rājā Māgadhō Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto bhīto saṃviggo loma-haṭṭhajāto Jivakaṃ komārabhaccaṃ etad avoca . . .

B. Sv (I 150)

Kasmā pan' esa bhīto ti? Andhakārenā ti **eke** vadanti. "Rājagahe kira dvattiṃsa mahā-dvārāṇi catusaṭṭhi khuddaka-dvārāṇi. Jivakassa Ambavanam pākārassa ca Gijjha-kūṭassa ca antarā hoti. So pācīna-dvāreṇa nikkhamitvā pabbata-chāyaṃ pāvisi. Tattha pabbatakūṭena cando chādito, pabbata-chāyāya ca rukkhā-chāyāya ca

andhakāraṃ ahosi" ti. Taṃ akāraṇaṃ. Tadā hi ukkānaṃ sataśahassa pi paricchedo n' atthi.

C. Sv-ṭ (I 280)

Eke ti Uttaravīhāravāsino.

Here the interpretation of the Uttaravīhāravāsins is rejected by Buddhaghosa.

7. Example Fourteen

A. DN (I 50)

Atha kho rājā Māgadhō Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto yāvatikā nāgassa bhūmi nāgena gantvā, nāgā paccorohitvā pattiko va yena maṇḍala-māḷassa dvāraṃ ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Jivakaṃ komārabhaccaṃ etad avoca: "Kahaṃ pana samma Jivaka Bhagavā?" ti. "Eso mahā-rāja Bhagavā. Eso mahā-rāja Bhagavā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukkho nisinnō purakkhato bhikkhusaṅghassā" ti.

B. Sv (I 152)

Kahaṃ pana sammā ti. Kasmā pucchati? **Eke** tāva ajānanto ti vadanti. "Iminā kira dahara-kāle pitarā saddhiṃ āgama Bhagavā dīṭṭha-pubbo. Pacchā pana pāpa-mitta-samsaggena pitu-ghāṭaṃ katvā abhimāre pesetvā dhana-pālakaṃ muñcāpetvā mahāparādho hutvā Bhagavato sammukhī-bhāvaṃ na upagata-pubbo ti asaṅjānanto pucchati" ti. Taṃ akāraṇaṃ. Bhagavā hi ākiṇṇa-vara-lakkhaṇo anuvyañjana-paṭimaṇḍito chabbannāhi rasmīhi sakala-ārāmaṃ obhāsetvā, tārā-gaṇa-parivuto viya puṇṇa-cando, bhikkhugaṇa-parivuto maṇḍala-māla-majjhe nisinnō. Taṃ ko nāma na jāneyya? Ayam pana attano issariya-līlāya pucchati. Pakati h' esā rāja-kulānaṃ, yaṃ saṅjanantā pi ajānantā viya pucchanti. Jivako pana taṃ sutvā, "Ayaṃ rājā paṭhaviyaṃ thatvā 'Kuhim paṭhavi' ti,

nabhaṃ oloketvā 'Kuhim candima-suriyā' ti, Sineru-mūle ṭhatvā 'Kuhim Sinerū' ti vadamāno viya, Dasabalassa purato va ṭhatvā 'Kuhim Bhagavā' ti pucchāti. Hand' assa Bhagavantam dassemi" ti, yena Bhagavā ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā "Eso Mahārājā" ti ādim āha.

C. Sv-ṭ (I 280)

Eke ti Uttaravihāravāsino.

Here also the interpretation of the Uttaravihāravāsins is rejected by Buddhaghosa.

8. Example Fifteen

A. DN (I 53 foll.)

Cuddasa kho pan' imāni yoni-pamukha-sata-sahassāni saṭṭhiṃ ca satāni cha ca satāni, pañca ca kammuno satāni pañca ca kammāni tīni ca kammāni kamme ca aḍḍha-kamme ca . . .

B. Sv (I 161 foll.)

Yoni-pamukha-satasahassāni ti, pamukha-yoniyam uttama-yoniyam cudasa-satasahassāni, aññāni ca saṭṭhi-satāni, aññāni ca cha-satāni, pañca ca kammuno satāni ti pañca kamma-satāni c' āti kevalam takkamattakena niratthakam diṭṭhim dipeti. Pañca ca kammāni tīni ca kammāni ti ādisu pi es' eva nayo. Keci pan' āhu "Pañca kammāni ti pañca-indriyavasena bhanati, tīni ti tīni kāya-kammādi-vasenā" ti. Kamme ca aḍḍha-kamme c' āti, ettha pan' assa kāya-kammañ ca vaci-kammañ ca kamman ti laddhi, mano-kammaṃ upaḍḍha-kamman ti.

C. Sv-ṭ (I 289)

Es' eva nayo ti iminā kevalam takkamattakena niratthakam diṭṭhim dipeti ti imam ev' attham atidisati . . . Keci ti Uttaravihāravāsino. Te hi pañca kammāni ti cakkhu-sota-ghāṇa-jivhā-kāya, imāni pañca' indriyāni pañca kammāni ti paññāpentī ti vadanti.

The passage from DN (A) is also found in MN (I 517), and the comment of Ps (III 230) upon this is also basically identical to that of Sv given above (B). However, the above comment of Sv-ṭ (C) differs from the comment of Ps-ṭ (III 109, 26 foll.) upon the parallel passage of Ps. In particular, the comment of Ps-ṭ on "keci" does not agree with the above comment of Sv-ṭ on "keci" and remarks:

Keci ti Sārasamāsa-ācariyā.

If Ps-ṭ was written by the same Dhammapāla as the author of Sv-ṭ, what does the difference between these two comments mean? I suggest that when Dhammapāla commented upon this passage of Sv, he consulted the old commentary of the Uttaravihāra, omitting any reference to the Sārasamāsa, while on the other hand, when he commented upon the identical passage of Ps, he paid attention only to the Sārasamāsa, omitting the work of the Uttaravihāra. In many other instances, he consulted the views of both these two works.

9. Example Sixteen

A. DN (I 70)

Kathañ ca mahā-rāja bhikkhu sati-sampajaññaena samannāgato hoti? Idha mahā-rāja bhikkhu abhikkante paṭikkante sampajāna-kāri hoti, ālokite vilokite sampajāna-kāri hoti, sammiñjite pasārite sampajāna-kāri hoti, samghāṭi-patta-cīvara-dhāraṇe sampajāna-kāri hoti, asite pite khāyite sāyite sampajāna-kāri hoti, uccāra-passava-kamme sampajāna-kāri hoti, gate ṭhite nisinne sutte jāgarite bhāsīte tuṇhī-bhāve sampajāna-kāri hoti.

B. Sv (I 184)

Sampajāna-kārī hoti ti, sampajāññena sabba-kicca-kārī, sampajāññass' eva vā kārī. So hi abhikkantādisu sampajāññam karot' eva, na katthaci sampajāñña-virahito hoti. Tattha sātthaka-sampajāññam sappāya-sampajāññam gocara-sampajāññam asammoha-sampajāññan ti catubbidham sampajāññam. Tattha abhikkamana-citte uppanne citta-vasen' eva agantvā, "Kin nu me ettha gatena attho atthi n' atthi" ti atthānattham parigaṇetvā attha-parigaṇhanam sātthaka-sampajāññam. Tattha ca attho ti Cetiyaḍassana-Bodhidassana-Saṃghadassana-Theraḍassana-asubha-dassana-ādi vasena dhammato vaḍḍhi. Cetiyaṃ disvā pi hi Buddhārammaṇam, Saṃghadassane Saṃghārammaṇam pītiṃ uppādetvā, tad eva khayato sammasanto arahattaṃ pāpuṇāti. There disvā tesam ovāde paṭiṭṭhāya, asubham disvā tattha paṭhamajjhānam uppādetvā, tad eva khayato sammasanto arahattaṃ pāpuṇāti. Tasmā etesam dassanam sāttham. **Keci** pana āmisato pi vaḍḍhi attho yeva. Taṃ nissāya brahmacariyānuggahāya paṭipannattā ti vadanti.

C. Sv-ṭ (I 316)

Keci ti Abhayagirivāsino.

The above statement of Sv, together with the passages preceding and following it, can be seen in Ps (I 253 *fol.*, especially 253), Spk (I 181 *fol.*, especially 182 *fol.*), and Vibh-a (347 *fol.*, especially 347 *fol.*). As regards these three, only Spk-ṭ records the same comment as that of Sv-ṭ shown above (C), i.e. Keci ti Abhayagirivāsino, while the other two Ṭikās, Ps-ṭ (I 354, 28) and Vibh-mṭ (180, 27) have no comment of this sort.

10. Example Seventeen

A. DN (I 88 *fol.*)

Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati rājā hoti cakkavatti dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturato vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyaṃ satta-ratana-samannāgato . . . Paro sahaṣṣaṃ kho pan' assa puttā bhavanti sūrā viraṅga-rūpā parasenappamaddanā.

B. Sv (I 250)

Sūrā ti abhīruka-jātikā. Viraṅga-rūpā ti deva-putta-sadisa-kāyā. Evaṃ tāv' **eke** vaṇṇayanti, ayaṃ pan' ettha sabhāvo. Virā ti uttama-sūrā vuccanti. Virānam aṅgaṃ viraṅgaṃ, Vira-kāraṇaṃ viriyan ti vuttaṃ hoti. Viraṅga-rūpaṃ etesan ti viraṅga-rūpā, viriyamaya-sarirā viyā ti vuttaṃ hoti.

C. Sv-ṭ (I 383)

Eke ti Sārasamās' ācāriyam āha.

11. Example Eighteen

A. DN (II 14)

Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kūcchismā nikkhamati, devā paṭhamam paṭiggaṇhanti, pacchā manussā. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

B. Sv (II 437)

Devā paṭhamam paṭiggaṇhanti ti khīṇ'āsavā Suddhāvāsa-Brahmāno paṭiggaṇhanti. Kathaṃ? "Sūti-vesam gaṇhitvā" ti **eke**. Taṃ pana paṭikkhipitvā idaṃ vuttaṃ: "Tadā Bodhisatta-mātā suvaṇṇa-khacitaṃ vatthaṃ nivāsetvā macch' akkhi-sadisaṃ dukūla-paṭṭaṃ yāva pād' antā pārupitvā aṭṭhāsi. Ath' assā sallahukaṃ gabbha-vutṭhānaṃ ahoṣi dhammakarakato udaka-nikkhamana-sadisaṃ. Atha te pakati-Brahma-vesen' eva upasaṅkamitvā paṭhamam suvaṇṇa-jālena paṭiggaṇhesuṃ; tesam hatthato cattāro Mahā-rājāno ajina-ppaveṇiya paṭiggaṇhesuṃ; tato manussā dukūla-cumbākena

paṭiggahesum". Tena vuttam devā pathamaṃ paṭiggaṇhanti pacchā manussā ti.

C. Sv-ṭ (II 36)

Eke ti Abhayagirivāsino.

12. Example Nineteen

A. Sv (II 514 foll.) commenting on DN (II 71)

Ubhato-bhāga-vimutto ti dvīhi bhāgehi vimutto, arūpa-samāpattiya rūpa-kāyato vimutto, maggena nāma-kāyato vimutto ti . . . So pan' esa ubhato-bhāga-vimutto ākāsānañc' āyatan' ādisu aññatarato vuṭṭhāya arahattaṃ patto ca anāgāmī hutvā, nirodhā vuṭṭhāya arahattaṃ patto cā ti: pañcavidho hoti. **Keci** pana yasmā rūpāvacara-catutthajjhānam pi duvaṅgikaṃ upekkhā-sahagataṃ arūpāvacarajjhānam pi tādisam eva, tasmā rūpāvacara-catutthajjhānato vuṭṭhāya arahattaṃ patto pi ubhato-bhāga-vimutto ti. Ayam pana ubhato-bhāga-vimutta-pañho heṭṭhā Lohapāsāde samuṭṭhahitvā Tepitaka-Culla-Sumanattherassa vaṇṇanaṃ niṣṣāya cirena vinicchayaṃ patto.

Giri-vihāre kira therassa antevāsiko ekassa piṇḍa-cārikassa mukhato va taṃ pañhaṃ sutvā āha: "Āvuso heṭṭhā Lohapāsāde amhākaṃ ācariyassa dhammaṃ vaṇṇayato na kenaci suta-pubban?" ti, kim pana bhante thero avacā? ti. "Rūpāvacara-catutthajjhānam kiñcāpi duvaṅgikaṃ upekkhāsahagataṃ kilese ca vikkhambheti, kilesānaṃ pana āsannaṃ pakke virūhanaṭṭhāne samudācarati. Ime hi kilesā nāma pañca-vokāra-bhave nīl' ādisu aññataraṃ ārammaṇaṃ upaniṣṣāya samudācaranti. Rūpāvacarajjhānañ ca taṃ ārammaṇaṃ na samatikkammati, tasmā sabbaso rūpaṃ nivattetvā arūpajjhānavasena kilese vikkhambhetvā arahattaṃ patto va ubhato-bhāga-vimutto". Idaṃ āvuso thero avaca. Idañ ca pana vatvā idaṃ suttaṃ āhari: - "Katamo ca puggalo ubhato-bhāga-vimutto? Idh' ekacco puggalo aṭṭha-vimokke kāyena phussitvā viharati, paññāya

c' assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti. Ayam vuccati puggalo ubhato-bhāga-vimutto" ti.

B. Sv-ṭ (II 155 foll.)

Tattha **keci** ti Uttaravihāravāsino Sārasamās' ācariyā ca. Te hi: Ubhato-bhāga-vimutto ti ubhayabhāgavimutto samādhivipassanāto ti vatvā rūpāvacarasamādhinā pi samādhiparipanthato vimuttaṃ maññanti. Evaṃ rūpajjhānabhāgena arūpajjhānabhāgena ca ubhato vimutto ti Sārasamāse.

13. Example Twenty

A. DN (II 213)

Katame cattāro? Idha bho bhikkhu chanda-samādhī-padhāna-saṃkhāra-samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhāveti, viriya-samādhī . . . citta-samādhī . . . vīmaṃsā-samādhī-padhāna-saṃkhāra-samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhāveti.

B. Sv (II 642)

Yath' eva hi chandaṃ adhipatiṃ karitvā paṭiladdha-samādhī chanda-samādhī ti vutto. Evaṃ viriyaṃ cittaṃ vīmaṃsaṃ adhipatiṃ karitvā paṭiladdha-samādhī vīmaṃsa-samādhī ti vuccati. Api ca upacārajjhānaṃ pādo paṭhamajjhānaṃ iddhi sa-upacāraṃ paṭhamajjhānaṃ pādo dutiyajjhānaṃ iddhi ti. Evaṃ pubbabhāge pādo aparabhāge iddhi ti: evam ettha attho veditabbo; vitthārena iddhipāda-kathā Visuddhimagge ca Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya ca vuttā. **Keci** pana: "Nipphannā iddhi anipphanno iddhipādo" ti vadanti. Tesam vāda-maddan' atthāya Abhidhamme Uttara-cūḷika-vāro nāma āgato. Cattāro iddhipādā: chand' iddhipādo viriy' iddhipādo citt' iddhipādo vīmaṃs' iddhipādo.

C. Sv-ṭ (II 268)

Keci ti Abhayagirivāsino. Tesu ekacce "Iddhi nāma anipphannā, iddhipādo nipphanno" ti vadanti. Ekacce "Iddhipādo pi anipphanno" ti vadanti. Anipphanno ti ca param' atthato asiddho, n' atthi ti attho.

The topic of this example is the interpretation of the "cattāro iddhipādā". As is clear from the above statement in the Dīghaṭṭhakathā, other detailed explanations of the "cattāro iddhipādā" are available in the Visuddhimagga²⁵ and the Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā. Of these two explanations, which are not exactly the same, that of the Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā is more closely connected with the above passage from Sv. The Iddhipāda-vibhaṅga in Vibh-a (308) reads as follows:

Ken' atthena iddhi? Ken' atthena pādo ti? Ijjanakatthen' eva iddhi; patitthānatthen' eva pādo. Evam idhāpi iddhi ti vā pādo ti vā aññassa kassaci adhivacanāṃ, sampayuttakānaṃ catunnaṃ khandhānaṃ yeva adhivacanaṃ ti. Evam vutte pana idam āhamsu: Catunnaṃ khandhānaṃ eva adhivacanāṃ bhavēyya yadi Satthā parato Uttara-cūlabhājaniyaṃ nāma na āhareyya; Uttara-cūlabhājaniye pana chando yeva chandiddhipādo, viriyam eva, cittaṃ eva, vīmaṃsā va vīmaṃsiddhipādo ti kathitaṃ ti.

Keci pana iddhi nāma anipphannā, iddhipādo nipphanno ti vadiṃsu. Tesam vacanaṃ paṭikkhipitvā iddhi pi iddhipādo pi nipphanno tilakkhaṇabbhāhato ti sanniṭṭhānaṃ kataṃ.

Upon "keci" in the above passage, the Vibhaṅgaṭṭikā (169, 8 foll.) comments as follows:

Keci ti Uttaravihāravāsitherā kira.

For the unnamed sources "keci" in the Aṭṭhakathās which refer to the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity, the respective Tīkās give as their explanation the apparently alternative names: "Abhayagirivāsino" and "Uttaravihāravāsitherā". This fact does not prove that these

anonymous sources differed from one another, but rather suggests that the names given in the different Tīkās refer to one and the same group.

4. Examples found in the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā

1. Example Twenty-one

A. MN (I 1)

Idha bhikkhave assutavā puthujjano ariyānaṃ adassāvī ariyadhammassa akovido ariyadhamme avinīto sappurisānaṃ adassāvī sappurisadhammassa akovido sappurisadhamme avinīto paṭhaviṃ paṭhavito sañjānāti, paṭhaviṃ paṭhavito saññatvā paṭhaviṃ maññāti, paṭhaviyā maññāti, paṭhavito maññāti, paṭhaviṃ me ti maññāti, paṭhaviṃ abhinandati; taṃ kissa hetu: aparimāṇaṃ tassā ti vadāmi.

B. Ps (I 28)

Paṭhavito maññāti ti ettha pana paṭhavito ti nissakkavacanāṃ. Tasmā sa-upakaraṇassa attano vā parassa vā yathāvuttappabhedato paṭhavito uppattiṃ vā niggamanaṃ vā, paṭhavito vā añño attā ti maññamāno paṭhavito maññāti ti veditabbo. Ayam assa diṭṭhimaññanā. Tasmim yeva pan' assa diṭṭhimaññanāya maññite vatthusmim sinehaṃ mānañ ca uppādayato taṇhā-mānamaññanā pi veditabbā. **Apare** āhu: Paṭhavikasiṇaṃ parittaṃ bhāvetvā tato ca aññaṃ appamāṇaṃ attānaṃ gahetvā paṭhavito bahiddhā pi me attā ti maññamāno paṭhavito maññāti ti.

C. Ps-ṭ (I 74, 25)

Apare ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

The view of "apare", i.e. the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas, quoted in Ps (B) is not found in the detailed interpretation on "paṭhavī-kasiṇa" in

the Gedatsudōron²⁶. We may conclude that it has been extracted from the Sārasamāsa itself, because the passage referred to is a comment upon a particular phrase, "paṭhavito maññati", which can be expounded only in a particular context. The text which expounded a word or a phrase (especially a phrase) in this way must have been a commentary (upon the Canon).

2. Example Twenty-two

A. Ps (I 37 foll.) commenting on MN (I 3 foll.)

Evam sabbam sakkāyabhedam diṭṭhādihi catuhi dassetvā, idāni tam eva samāpannakavārena asamāpannakavārena ca dvidhā dassento, ekattam nānattan ti āha. Ekattan ti iminā hi samāpannakavāram dasseti; nānattan ti iminā asamāpannakavāram. Tesam vacanattho: ekabhāvo ekattam, nānābhāvo nānattan ti. Yojanā pan' ettha samāpannakavāram catuhi khandhehi, asamāpannakavārañ ca pañcahi khandhehi bhinditvā, "Rūpaṃ attato samanupassati" ti (S III 44) ādinā sāsana-nayena paṭhavivārādisu vuttena ca aṭṭhakathā-nayena yathānurūpaṃ vīmaṃsitvā veditabbā. **Keci** pana ekattan ti ekattanayam vadanti, nānattan ti nānattanayam; **apare** "Ekattasaññi attā hoti arogo param maraṇā . . . nānattasaññi attā hoti" ti (D I 31) evam diṭṭhābhinivesam. Tam sabbam idhānadhippetattā ayuttam eva hoti.

B. Ps-ṭ (I 88, 2-3)

Keci ti Abhayagirivāsino.
Apāre ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

This example is very important. The passage quoted above from Ps (A) refers in parallel to two different views of unnamed groups. These unnamed groups are respectively identified as the Abhayagirivāsins and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas (B). It means that these two groups were different.

3. Example Twenty-three

A. MN (I 6)

Tasmātiha bhikkhave Tathāgato sabbaso taṇhānaṃ khayā virāgā nirodhā cāgā paṭinissaggā anuttaram sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti vadāmi ti.

B. Ps (I 54)

Sammāsambodhin ti sammā sāmañ ca bodhiṃ. Atha vā pasattham sundarañ ca bodhiṃ. Bodhi ti rukkho pi, maggo pi, sabbaññutaññānaṃ pi, nibbānaṃ pi. "Bodhirukkhamaññe paṭhamābhisambuddho" ti (Vin I 1) ca, "Antarā ca Bodhiṃ antarā ca Gayan" ti (Vin I 8; MN I 170) ca āgataṭṭhānesu hi rukkho bodhi ti vuccati. "Bodhi vuccati catusu maggesu ñāṇan" ti (Nd I 456) āgataṭṭhāne maggo. "Pappoti bodhiṃ varabhūrimedhaso" ti (DN III 159) āgataṭṭhāne sabbaññutaññānaṃ. "Patvāna bodhiṃ amatam asaṅkhatan" ti () āgataṭṭhāne nibbānaṃ. Idha pana Bhagavato arahattamaggaññānaṃ adhippetam. **Apāre** pana sabbaññutaññānaṃ pi vadanti.

C. Ps-ṭ (I 115, 3)

Apāre ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

It is to be noted here that the different explanation of "apāre", i.e. the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas, is introduced in parallel with the orthodox view of the Mahāvihāra, yet it is not rejected by Buddhaghosa.

4. Example Twenty-four

A. MN (I 7)

Bhagavā etad avoca: Jānato aham bhikkhave passato āsavānaṃ khayam vadāmi, no ajānato no apassato . . . ti.

B. Ps (I 63)

Idāni jānato ahan ti ādisu jānato ti jānantassa. Passato ti passantassa. Dve pi padāni ekaṭṭhāni, byañjanam eva nānā. Evaṃ sante pi jānato ti ñāṇalakkhaṇaṃ upādāya puggalaṃ niddisati. Jāṇanalakkhaṇaṃ hi ñāṇaṃ. Passato ti ñāṇappabhāvaṃ upādāya. Passanappabhāvaṃ hi ñāṇaṃ. Ñāṇasamaṅgi puggalo, cakkhumā viya cakkhunā rūpāni, ñāṇena vivatē dhamme passati. Api ca yoniso manasikāraṃ uppādetuṃ jānato, ayoniso manasikāro yathā na uppajjati evaṃ passato ti. Ayam ettha sāro²⁷. **Keci** pan' ācariyā bahū papañce bhaṇanti. Te imasmim atthe na yujjanti.

C. Ps-ṭ (I 147, 17-20)

Keci ti Abhayagirivāsi-Sārasamāśācariyā. Te hi "samādhinā jānato vipassanāya passato jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati. Evaṃ jānanā samatho passanā vipassanā" ti ca ādinā papañcenti.

5. Example Twenty-five

A. MN (I 8)

So evaṃ ayoniso manasikaroti: Ahoṣin nu kho ahaṃ atītam addhānaṃ, na nu kho ahoṣiṃ atītam addhānaṃ, kin nu kho ahoṣiṃ atītam addhānaṃ, kathan nu kho ahoṣiṃ atītam addhānaṃ, kiṃ hutvā kiṃ ahoṣiṃ nu kho ahaṃ atītam addhānaṃ . . .

B. Ps (I 69)

Kin nu kho ahoṣin ti jātilingupapattiyo²⁸ nissāya, khattiyo nu kho ahoṣiṃ, brāhmaṇa-vessa-sudda-gaṇṭṭha-pabbajita-deva-manussānaṃ aññataro ti kaṅkhati. Kathan nu kho ti saṇṭhānākāraṃ nissāya, dīgho nu kho ahoṣiṃ, rassa-odāta-kaṇha-ppamāṇika-appamāṇikādinaṃ aññataro ti kaṅkhati. **Keci** pana, Issaranimmānādiṃ nissāya kena nu kho kāraṇena ahoṣin ti hetuto kaṅkhati ti vadanti. Kiṃ hutvā kiṃ ahoṣin ti jāti-ādini nissāya,

khattiyo hutvā nu kho brāhmaṇo ahoṣiṃ -pe- devo hutvā manusso ti attano paramparaṃ kaṅkhati. Sabbatth' eva pana addhānaṃ ti kālādhivacanam etaṃ.

C. Ps-ṭ (I 155, 29 - 156, 3)

Keci ti Sārasamāśācariyā. Te hi "kathaṃ nu kho ti Issarena vā Brahmunā vā pubbakatena vā ahetuto vā nibbato ti cinteti" ti āhu. Tena vuttaṃ "hetuto kaṅkhati ti vadanti" ti. Ahetuto nibbatti-kaṅkhāpi hi hetuparāmasanam evā ti.

It is noteworthy that the above view of "keci", i.e. the Sārasamāśācariyas, in Ps (B) is introduced as a reference, but is not rejected. We can find identical passages in MN (A) and SN (II 26 §18); in Ps (B) and Spk (II 42); and in Ps-ṭ (C) and Spk-ṭ (II 56, 6 foll.). The above passage of Spk-ṭ is the comment upon the above passage of Spk, which is the comment upon that of SN.

6. Example Twenty-six

A. MN (I 21)

Āraddhaṃ kho pana me brāhmaṇa viriyaṃ ahoṣi asallīnaṃ, upaṭṭhitā sati asammuttā passaddho kāyo asāraddho, samāhitam cittaṃ ekaggaṃ.

B. Ps (I 123)

Evaṃ Bhagavā Buddhagūṇapaṭilābhāvasānaṃ attano asammohavīhāraṃ brāhmaṇassa dassetvā idāni yāya paṭipadāya taṃ koṭipattaṃ asammohavīhāraṃ adhigato taṃ pubbabhāgato pabhūti dassetuṃ, āraddhaṃ kho pana me, brāhmaṇa ti ādim āha. **Keci** pan' āhu: Imaṃ asammohavīhāraṃ sutvā brāhmaṇassa cittaṃ evaṃ uppannaṃ: kāya nu kho paṭipadāya imaṃ patto ti. Tassa cittaṃ aññāya imāyā 'haṃ paṭipadāya imaṃ uttamaṃ asammohavīhāraṃ patto ti dassento evaṃ āhā ti.

C. Ps-ṭ (I 221, 28 foll.)

Keci ti Uttaravihāravāsino.

7. Example Twenty-seven

A. MN (I 252 foll.)

Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Sakkaṃ devānaṃ indaṃ āyasmā Mahāmoggallāno etad avoca: Yathākathaṃ pana te Kosiya Bhagavā saṅkhittena taṇhāsāṅkhayavimuttiṃ abhāsi, sādhu mayam pi etissā kathāya bhāgino assāma savanāyāti. - Mayaṃ kho mārisa Moggallāna bahukiccā, mayaṃ bahukaraṇiyā, app eva sakena karaṇiyena api ca devānaṃ yeva Tāvatisānaṃ karaṇiyena. Api ca mārisa Moggallāna sussutaṃ yeva hoti sugghātaṃ sumanasikataṃ sūpadhāritaṃ yan no khippam eva antaradhāyati . . .

B. Ps (II 301 foll.)

Yan no khippam eva antaradhāyati ti yaṃ amhākaṃ siḡham eva andhakāre rūpagataṃ viya na dissati. Iminā 'haṃ, bhante, taṃ pañhavissajjanaṃ na sallakkhemī ti dīpeti. Thero, kasmā nu kho ayaṃ yakkho asallakkhaṇabhāvaṃ dīpeti, passena pariharati ti āvajjanato, devā nāma mahāmūlā honti, chadvārikehi ārammaṇehi nimmathiyamānā attano bhuttābhuttabhāvaṃ pi, pītāpītabhāvaṃ pi na jānānti, idha kataṃ ettha mussanti ti aññāsi. **Keci** pan' āhu: Thero etassa garu bhāvaniyo. Tasmā, idān' eva loke aggapuggalassa santike pañhaṃ uggahetvā āgato, idān' eva nāṭakānaṃ antaraṃ pavītṭho ti evaṃ maṃ thero tajjeyyā ti bhayena evaṃ āhā ti. Evaṃ pana kohaṇṇaṃ nāma hoti. Ariyasāvakaṃ ca kohaṇṇaṃ nāma n' atthi. Tasmā mūlhabhāven' eva na sallakkhesi ti veditabbaṃ. Upari kasmā sallakkhesi ti? Thero tassa somanassa-saṃvegaṃ janetvā tamaṃ nīhari, tasmā sallakkhesi.

C. Ps-ṭ (II 221, 8 foll.)

Keci ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

8. Example Twenty-eight

A. MN (II 262)

Kāyassa bhedaṃ paramaṃ maraṇā ṭhānaṃ etaṃ vijjati yaṃ taṃ saṃvattanikaṃ viññānaṃ assa āṇāṇjūpagamaṃ. Ayaṃ, bhikkhave, paṭhamā āṇāṇjasappāyā paṭipadā akkhāyati.

B. Ps (IV 61 foll.)

Taṃ saṃvattanikaṃ viññānaṃ assa āṇāṇjūpagaṇaṃ taṃ kāraṇaṃ vijjati ti attho. Ettha ca taṃ saṃvattanikaṃ ti tassa bhikkhuno saṃvattanikaṃ yena vipākaviññānaṃ so bhikkhu taṃ saṃvattati nibbattati taṃ viññānaṃ āṇāṇjūpagaṇaṃ ti kusalāṇāṇjasabhāvaṃ upagataṃ assa tādisaṃ eva bhavēyyā ti attho. **Keci** kusalaviññānaṃ vadanti yaṃ taṃ tassa bhikkhuno saṃvattanikaṃ upapattihetubhūtaṃ kusalaviññānaṃ āṇāṇjūpagataṃ assa vipākakāle taṃ nāmakam eva assā ti attho.

C. Ps-ṭ (III 254, 31)

Keci ti Abhayagirivāsino.

5. Example found in the Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā

1. Example Twenty-nine

A. SN (I 142)

Tena kho pana samayena Bakassa brahmuno evarūpaṃ pāpakaṃ dīṭṭhigataṃ uppannaṃ hoti. Idaṃ niccaṃ idaṃ dhuvaṃ, idaṃ sassataṃ idaṃ kevalaṃ idaṃ acavanadhammaṃ, idaṃ hi na jāyati na miyati na cavati na uppajjati, ito ca pan' aññaṃ uttarim nissaraṇaṃ n' atthi ti.

B. Spk (I 208 foll.)

Ito ca pan' aññan ti, ito pan' okāsā Brahma-tṭhānā uttarim aññam nissaraṇam nāma n' atthi ti. Evam assa thāma-gatā sassata-ditṭhi uppannā hoti. Evam vādī ca pana so upari tisso jhāna-bhūmiyo cattāro magge cattāri phalāni nibbānan ti sabbaṃ paṭibāhati. Kadā pan' esā ditṭhi uppannā? ti. Paṭhama-jjhāna-bhūmiyaṃ nibbatta-kāle dutiya-jjhāna-bhūmiyaṃ ti **eke**. Tat' ayam anupubbī-kathā: - Heṭṭh' ūpapattiko kir' esa Brahmā. Anuppanne Buddh' uppāde isipabbajjāṃ pabbajitvā, kaṣiṇa-parikkammaṃ katvā, samāpattiyo nibbattetvā, aparihina-jjhāno kālaṃ katvā, catuttha-jjhāna-bhūmiyaṃ Vehapphala-brahmaloke pañca-kappa-satikaṃ āyuraṃ gahetvā nibbatti. Tattha yāvatāyukaṃ tathā, heṭṭh' ūpapattikaṃ katvā, tatiya-jjhānaṃ pañitaṃ bhāvetvā, Subhakiṇṇa-brahmaloke catusaṭṭhi-kappaṃ āyuraṃ gahetvā nibbatti. Tattha dutiya-jjhānaṃ bhāvetvā, Abhassare attha-kappe āyuraṃ gahetvā nibbatti. Tattha paṭhama-jjhānaṃ bhāvetvā, paṭhama-jjhāna-bhūmiyaṃ kappāyuko hutvā nibbatti. So paṭhama-kāle attanā kata-kammañ ca nibbatta-tṭhānañ ca aññāsi. Kāle yeva pana gacchante ubhayaṃ pamussitvā sassata-ditṭhiṃ uppādesi.

C. Spk-ṭ (I 241, 26)

Eke ti Uttaravihāravāsino.

6. Conclusion

All the twenty-nine examples found in the major Aṭṭhakathā texts with reference to the comments or discussions of the Mahāvihāra and the non-Mahāvihāra fraternities, which are recorded in parallel, have been investigated in the previous sections. On the basis of these examples, I shall comment on various aspects of the relation between these two traditions and their respective works.

(1) Of the seven examples found in the Visuddhimagga, the quotations from the non-Mahāvihāra fraternities' views for which

parallel passages can be seen in the Gedatsudōron, the Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga, are only four: Examples 1, 2, 3 and 6. For the remaining three examples, i.e. 4, 5 and 7, no such parallel passages can be found in the Gedatsudōron. As is already well known, the Vimuttimagga, composed by Upatissa of the Abhayagirivihāra, pre-dates the Visuddhimagga written by Buddhaghosa of the Mahāvihāra, and the former text is referred to without attribution as one of the basic source materials for the latter text. Comparative studies of these two doctrinal works have already been done in detail²⁹. The Vimuttimagga was not, however, the only text of the Abhayagirivihāra to have been consulted by Buddhaghosa when he was writing the Visuddhimagga. Example 4 mentioned above proves that he referred to a certain old commentary, now lost, of the Uttaravihāra/(Abhayagirivihāra) on the Saṃyuttanikāya, of which further discussion will be made later. Moreover, examples 5 and 7 suggest that he made use of some other unknown source of the Abhayagirivihāra, besides the above two texts. It might have been some oral transmission on doctrine or a commentarial work which will be considered later.

(2) In regard to the way in which the "different views" of the non-Mahāvihāravāsins are evaluated, the twenty-nine examples can be classified into two groups:

(a) The "different view" is criticised and rejected with some reason or evidence: these examples are 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24 and 29 - altogether fifteen in number. Most of the examples in the Visuddhimagga are included here.

(b) The "different view" is neither criticised nor rejected. This group is further divided into two:

(i) The "different view" is stated in parallel with the orthodox view of the Mahāvihāravāsins as a supplementary explanation. These

examples are 4, 9 (first half), 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27 and 28.

(ii) The orthodox view of the Mahāvihāravāsins is not mentioned, and only the "different view" of the non-Mahāvihāravāsins is introduced. In this case, the orthodox view seems not to have been available to be referred to. These examples are 9 (latter half) and 14.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in fourteen examples, i.e. nearly half of the total, the "different views" of the non-Mahāvihāravāsins are never rejected but recorded either as a supplement in parallel with the orthodox view or as the only reference without any orthodox view. Incidentally, if we exclude the seven examples in the Visuddhimagga, a doctrinal work, of the remaining twenty-two examples, the cases in which the "different view" is rejected are nine in number, and the reverse cases are thirteen: the latter cases are in the majority. As a consequence of the foregoing, we can conclude that, on the one hand, the Mahāvihāra and non-Mahāvihāra fraternities differed from one another especially on some doctrinal points; while, on the other hand, these twin fraternities in the same Theravāda school recognised each other and mutually supplied what was lacking in each other's commentarial source material.

(3) Next I shall proceed to the matter of the identifications which are made of the unnamed sources. As has already been explained in Section One, the expressions of the Tīkās, which can be regarded as referring to the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity, are "Abhayagirivāsino", "Uttaravihāravāsino (-vāsikā, -vāsikatherā)", and "Sārasamāsa-ācariyā". The expressions which indicate the names of texts belonging to this fraternity are "Vimuttimagga of Upatissa" and "Sārasamāsa". Table I is intended to give a better understanding of the way in which these five kinds of names have been referred to: (1) the letter 'a' denotes the identification made by the Tīkās of the unnamed source in the Example concerned - when

	Vism										Sv										Ps								Spk Total			
	A										B										C D E F A A A B B C D E											
Example No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Vimutinagga	a																														1	
Abhayagiri vāsins	a	a		a	a	a								a				a		a			a		a						12	
Uttaravihāravāsins				a				a	a	a			a	a	b			a	a			a	(a)				a				a 12	
Sārasamāsa-ācariyas									a	a	a						(a)		a		a	a		a	b	a	a	a			13	
Sārasamāsa												b	c	a								b									5	

TABLE I

there is more than one reference in a given Example, a second reference is denoted by the letter 'b' and a third by the letter 'c'; (2) when 'a' or 'b' appears against more than one name in respect of a given Example, this is because more than one name is given by the Tīkās for the one reference; whilst (3) a letter in parentheses means that alternative identifications are given in other Tīkās when commenting upon the identical unnamed sources quoted in parallel passages in different Aṭṭhakathās. The commentaries cited are as follows:

- Sv A: cty on the Brahmajālasutta (DN-1)
 B: cty on the Sāmaññaphalasutta (DN-2)
 C: cty on the Ambaṭṭhasutta (DN-3)
 D: cty on the Mahāpadānasuttanta (DN-14)
 E: cty on the Mahānidānasuttanta (DN-15)
 F: cty on the Janavasabhasuttanta (DN-18)
- Ps A: cty on the Mūlapariyāyasutta (MN-1)
 B: cty on the Sabbāsavasutta (MN-2)
 C: cty on the Bhayabheravasutta (MN-4)
 D: cty on the Cūḷatanhāsāṅkhasutta (MN-37)
 E: cty on the Āṇāpāyāsappāyasutta (MN-106)
- Spk Cty on the Brahmaṣaṃyutta (SN-6)

From this Table, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- (1) With respect to the Visuddhimagga, the name of the Abhayagirivāsins is the most frequent, and the Vimuttimagga of Upatissa is expressly mentioned. Yet the Visuddhimagga makes no reference to the Sārasamāsa.
- (2) In contrast to this, in the Dīghaṭṭhakathā, the references to the Sārasamāsa and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas are in the majority, and the name of the Uttaravihāravāsins is the next most frequent. Throughout the whole commentary on the Dīghanikāya, only the

parts commenting on six suttas headed by the Brahmajālasutta contain the names under consideration. (Other anonymous sources are found in the parts of the Dīghaṭṭhakathā which comment upon these and other suttas).

- (3) In the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā also, the references to the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas are in the majority. The parts of the commentary in which the names under consideration can be seen are limited to the sections commenting upon only five suttas headed by the Mūlapariyāyasutta.

(4) With regard to the examples in which more than one name is given for the same unnamed source (i.e. the names with the same marks in the same examples in the diagram), the grouping together of the Uttaravihāravāsins with the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas is the most frequent: five (or six) in all; and there is one instance of the grouping of the Abhayagirivāsins and Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. The grouping of the Abhayagirivāsins with the Uttaravihāravāsins, however, does not occur. It is quite clear from Example 22 that the Abhayagirivāsins were never identical with the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. In this example, the "keci" who are first referred to are the Abhayagirivāsins, and "apare" who are next referred to are the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. The textual evidence in Example 20 proves positively that the Abhayagirivāsins and the Uttaravihāravāsins were one and the same. This conclusion agrees with the fact that the grouping of these two as different fraternities does not occur, as described above. Therefore the Abhayagirivāsins, i.e. the Uttaravihāravāsins, were entirely different from the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas.

(5) Next it will be asked what the Abhayagirivāsins, i.e. the Uttaravihāravāsins, and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas really were. In this respect, the view of Professor de Silva should be considered here. She also considered the grouping of the above three kinds of names. As an explanation for the fact that there is a grouping of the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas with the Uttaravihāravāsins in the material

she investigated (i.e. DAT), but none of the former with the Abhayagirivāsins, she stated as follows³⁰:

"Soon after the dissension in the Buddhist church during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya, the schismatics came to be called Abhayagirikā as opposed to the orthodoxy - the Mahāvihārikā. This usage may have gone on until the time of Goṭṭābhaya. The Nikāyaśāṅgrahava records that during the reign of Goṭṭābhaya (A.D. 309-22) an influential monk named Ussiliyatissa declined to accept the Vaitulyavāda, though the residents of Abhayagiri welcomed the new doctrine, and went to reside at the Dakkhināgiri together with a retinue of 500 monks. This group, under the leadership of Sāgala, came to be called Sāgaliyas. Perhaps it was after this event that the headquarters at Abhayagiri came to be designated Uttaravihāra to distinguish it from the sub-division at Dakkhināgiri. Now, both Uttaravihāra and Dakkhināgiri are heterodox, therefore they are both included in the name of the first schismatics, i.e. Abhayagirivāsino. When the term Uttaravihāra is used it only means the section at the headquarters. Therefore when DAT identifies a view as being held by the Abhayagirivāsins, it virtually means non-Mahāvihāravāsins, and has a wide connotation. But when it uses Uttaravihāra, only the headquarters of the heterodox schools set at Abhayagiri is to be understood."

With reference to this view, I can agree in part, yet cannot agree entirely. Only the examples in the Dighaṭṭhakathā were examined by Professor de Silva in the process of editing the PTS edition of the Dighaṭṭikā. That is to say, the material for her search was very limited. She did not refer to Example 24 in the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā, nor the examples in the Visuddhimagga, although the latter had been studied to a certain extent. (This is a weak point of her methodology). Certainly, the discussion would

be simpler and clearer were we to regard Abhayagirivāsins as the name of the whole of the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity, including the Dakkhināgirivihāra, and the Uttaravihāravāsins as the name only of the headquarters of the heterodox fraternities at Abhayagiri. I do not think, however, that in reality these names were so strictly defined or were used in that way. Nevertheless, I consider it reasonable for her to have suggested that the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas were the group of monks in the Dakkhināgirivihāra, forming a sub-fraternity of the Abhayagirivihāra.

Now I shall state my view. Although the original name of the Abhayagirivihāra which was founded by king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya was "Abhayagiri", being named after a part of his name, there is the possibility that from the beginning this vihāra was also called the Uttaravihāra (North Monastery) because of its location to the north of Anurādhapura, the then capital of Sri Lanka. Moreover, as the Mahāvihāra was situated in the central part of the capital, and as the Dakkhināgirivihāra was in the southern part, the Abhayagiri was always regarded as the "monastery of the north" by the monks of these two monasteries.

In any case, of the twelve examples in which the name of the Uttaravihāravāsins is referred to in the Tikās, in five (or six) examples their name is referred to in parallel with that of the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. This fact shows that there was a clear contrast between these two groups. The Sārasamāsa-ācariyas must have been the monks who lived in the Dakkhināgirivihāra mentioned above and who composed and transmitted a work entitled "Sārasamāsa". Consequently, the Abhayagirivihāravāsins were identical with the Uttaravihāravāsins, and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas were identical with the Dakkhināgirivāsins. Among the forty-three references to these names in all, the references concerning the Abhayagirivihāra in general are twenty-five in number, and those concerning the Dakkhināgirivihāra in general are eighteen in number. However, if we omit the seven references contained in the Visuddhimagga, which does not refer to the

Sārasamāsa, the remaining thirty-six references which appear in the commentarial texts such as Sv, Ps and Spk are equally divided into eighteen from the Abhayagirivāsins, or the Uttaravihāravāsins, and another eighteen from the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas or the "Sārasamāsa". This suggests that generally speaking these two sources were treated as equally authoritative and were referred to in these commentaries.

(6) Finally, I shall put in order the unattributed sources from which the views of "some" were quoted. As has already been described in (1) of this Section, of the seven examples found in the Visuddhimagga, the four headed by Example 1 are from the Vimuttimagga of the Abhayagirivihāra, though this source is not acknowledged. The source for Example 4 was the old commentary, now lost, of the Abhayagiri fraternity on the Saṃyuttanikāya. The sources for the remaining two are still unknown, which suggests that some other unknown texts or oral transmission on doctrinal matters of this fraternity existed in the past.

It has been shown clearly that a text entitled "Sārasamāsa" of the Dakkhiṇāgirivihāra, the sub-fraternity of the Abhayagirivihāra, must have existed. It can be deduced that the quotations from Sārasamāsa-ācariyas were in fact from the Sārasamāsa itself. Judging from the contents of the quotations from the Sārasamāsa, this text can be regarded as being a commentary on the Nikāyas. For instance, as in Example 8 which is the explanation of the word "sāciyoga", most of the quotations from this text consist of interpretations of something or descriptions of something. Moreover, in Examples 22 and 24, the quotations are interpretations of words which form a pair ("ekatta" and "nānatta"; "jānato" and "passato"), and in Examples 21, 25 and 27 what is being interpreted is not a word but a phrase consisting of several words ("paṭhavito maṇṇati"; "kathaṃ nu kho ahoṣiṃ"; and "yan no khippam eva antaradhāyati"). These phrases, needless to say, make sense only in a particular context, and can be properly expounded

upon only in relation to a particular sentence. From the above discussion, it is clear that the text named "Sārasamāsa" was a work which commented in detail upon passages from specific suttas; yet it was not a systematic thesis on doctrine such as the Visuddhimagga or the Vimuttimagga. Through the investigation of the instances concerned, this text seems to have been a commentary upon (at least) DN, MN, SN, and AN. Incidentally, as to the commentary on AN, there is no example except the duplicated ones (36 and 37 in the list of Section One), but it is rather difficult to imagine the existence of a commentary on the first *three* Nikāyas alone. At the same time, it is also difficult to imagine the existence of a single commentary on all five Nikāyas, though I have no Tīkā material to help me to examine any references to such a source in the commentaries on the fifteen texts of the Khuddakanikāya. On the other hand, we find one example in Pp-A (No. 41) as the only instance in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka commentary concerning the Sārasamāsa. This is, however, a duplicate of passages in three other commentaries, i.e. Sv, Ps and Mp. To sum up, I believe the Sārasamāsa to have been a commentary of the Dakkhiṇāgirivihāra on the first *four* Nikāyas as stated above.

Next, what was the source material, besides the source for the Visuddhimagga, from which the interpretation of the Abhayagirivāsins, i.e. the Uttaravihāravāsins, was quoted? As has already been explained, of the examples concerning this group, Examples 8, 9, 10, 19 and 24 are common to the Sārasamāsa. Examples 12, 14, 16, 18, 26, 28 and 29 show interpretations of words or phrases, which can make sense only in particular contexts. Example 12 is typical on this point: as discussed before, the phrase commented upon is "te devā" (these heavenly beings) and this cannot possibly be properly interpreted independent of its context. From the above evidence, this source was beyond all doubt a commentary upon the canon. As regards the subjects of its comment, the great majority are from the first four Nikāyas, while a few are from Abhidhamma-piṭaka texts such as Dhs

(No.38), Vibh (Nos.39-40), and Pp (No.41). However, as to the examples concerning AN and these three Abhidhamma-piṭaka texts, the situation is exactly the same as with the Sārasamāsa. The examples concerning these texts are duplicated by passages in other Nikāyas.

This commentary, as the Sārasamāsa, can be regarded neither as a commentary on the first *three* Nikāyas, i.e. DN, MN and SN, nor as a commentary on both the Nikāyas and the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. Therefore, as in the case of the Sārasamāsa, this text must have been a commentary on the first *four* Nikāyas. This unacknowledged commentary that is lost today must have been the "Uttaravihāra-ṭṭhakathā". This text is referred to at eight places in the Mahāvamsaṭṭhikā³¹, and is sometimes referred to as the "Uttaravihāravāsinaṃ ṭṭhakathā". In this connection, the same Tīkā quotes from another text of the Abhayagiri fraternity, i.e. the "Uttaravihāravāsinaṃ Mahāvamsa"³², that is now also lost.

Saitama, Japan

Sodō Mori

* I am grateful to Mr. K. R. Norman of the University of Cambridge for the discussions that I had with him about this subject during my stay in England in 1985 and for one year since.

Notes

Abbreviations are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner, A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Vol I, Copenhagen 1924-1928. In addition, Chṭ = Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition; Ged = Gedatsudōron; JIABS = Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies; Nanden = Nanden Daizōkyō; SHB = Simon Hewavitarne Bequest edition; Sv-ṭ = Dīghaṭṭhikā; Taishō = Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō; Vim = Vimuttimaggā.

References to Pāli texts are to PTS editions except for the following: Viśm-mhṭ = B. N. Shukla, Rewatadhamma eds., Visuddhimaggā with Paramatthamañjūsāṭikā, 3 vols, Varanasi, 1969-72; Ps-ṭ I, II = Mūlapaṇṇāsaṭṭhikā I, II; Ps-ṭ III = Majjhimaṇṇāsaṭṭhikā and Upariṇṇāsaṭṭhikā; Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ, Vibh-mṭ, Pp-ṭ (in Ppk-ṭ) being Chṭ editions.

¹ This is a revised and abridged translation of Part IV of my book entitled Pāli bukkyō chūsaku bunken no kenkyū: Attakatā no jōzabu-teki yōsō or A Study of the Pāli Commentaries: Theravādic Aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās, Tokyo, Sankibō Busshorin 1984, 19, 6, viii, 8, 718pp. The original title (in England) of that Part (pp 559-689) is "Comparison of Views between the Mahāvihārikas and the Abhayagirikas' Lineage: An Aspect of the Commentaries".

² This refers to the Visuddhimaggā and the direct commentaries on the Pāli canon. They are sometimes called in this article the Aṭṭhakathās, the Aṭṭhakathā texts, or the (Pāli) commentaries.

³ Sodō Mori, op cit (n 1), pp 128-139.

⁴ Sodō Mori, "The Vitaṇḍavādins (Sophists) as Seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās", in Essays on the Pāli and Buddhist Civilization, or Pāli bukkyō bunka kenkyū, edited by the Pāli Bunka Kenkyūkai, Tokyo, Sankibō-Busshorin, 1982, pp 171-188.

⁵ The list of all of them is available in my work (n 1), pp 111-128.

⁶ Nyanatiloka, trans., Der Weg zur Reinheit, Konstanz, Verlag Christiani, 1931-42. Ex. p 93, n 126 (p 873); p 123, n 79 (p 876); p 175, n 146 (p 883); p 309, n 133 (p 904); p 511, n 42 (p 916); p 842.

⁷ Kōgen Mizuno, The Shōjōdōron, 3 vols, (Nanden, Vols 62-64), Tokyo, Daizō Shuppan, 1937-40. Ex I-160, 206, n 8 (p 219), 293; II-79, 420; III-26, 480.

⁸ Bhikkhu Nyanamoli, trans., The Path of Purification, Colombo, R. Semage, 1956. Ex. pp 180, n 18; 104, n 19; 154, n 32; 287, n 38; 474, n 25; 502, n 31; 822, n 5.

⁹ P. V. Bapat, Vimuttimaggā and Visuddhimaggā: a Comparative Study, Poona, 1937. Ex. pp xli, 24, 35, 49 n 2, 95, 127 n1.

¹⁰ Lily de Silva, ed., Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭṭhikā, Linatthavaṇṇanā, 3 vols, London, PTS 1970. Vol I, pp lviii-lxv.

¹¹ I. B. Horner, "Keci: 'Some' in a Pāli Commentary", JIABS, Vol I, No 2, 1979, pp 52-56; "Keci: 'Some' in the Pāli Commentaries", JPTS, Vol IX, 1981, pp 87-95.

¹² Here the Tīkā refers to the Paramatthamañjūsā: Visuddhimaggā Mahāṭṭhikā and the commentaries on the Aṭṭhakathās of the Pāli canon, except for the commentaries on the Khuddakaṭṭhakathās, which either do not exist or have not been published.

13 P. V. Bapat, *Vimuktimārga Dhutagaṇa-nirdeśa*, New York, Asia Publishing House, 1964, pp 74-76. Cf Genjun Sasaki, *Gedatsudōron*, Kyoto, Hōzōkan, 1958, p 56.

14 "Pakkhanda" (PTS ed.) and "pakkhanta" (HOS ed.) have been emended to "pakkhanna" by Professor Mizuno (Nanden, Vol 62, p 299, n 53).

15 Following the HOS edition (p 221), the reading "paṭiyekko" in the PTS edition has been emended to "pāṭiyekko".

16 Following the HOS edition (p 221), the reading "secanako" in the PTS edition has been emended to "asecanako".

17 Spk III 270.

18 Cf. Taishō, Vol 32, p 443b.

19 Ps-ṭ II 160, 1.

20 Mp-ṭ II 374, 24.

21 Pp-mṭ p 61, 13 (in the Ṭikā on Ppk-a).

22 Following Sv-ṭ, the reading "udda-lomi" in both DN and Sv has been emended to "uddha-lomi".

23 See n 22.

24 The original "Paranimmita" has been corrected to "Paranimmita".

25 Vism II 385; cf. Ged (Taishō, Vol 32, p 441c).

26 Taishō, Vol 32, p 412b *fol.*

27 The reading "saro" in the PTS edition has been corrected to "sāro", following the SHB edition's Ps (I 58, 35) and the Chṭ edition's Ps (I 65, 22).

28 The reading "jātiliṅguppattiyo" in the PTS edition has been emended to "jātiliṅgupapattiyo", following the SHB edition's Ps (Vol 35, p 64, 7) and the Chṭ edition's Ps (I 71, 21).

29 See n 9. Cf. Kōgen Mizuno, "Gedatsudōron to Shōjōdōron no Hikaku-kenkyū - P. V. Bapat, *Vimuttimaggā and Visuddhimaggā*", *Buddhist Studies*, (old edition), Vol III, No 2, May 1939, pp 114-137 (a detailed review article on Bapat's work).

30 de Silva, *op cit* (n 10), p lxi.

31 Mhv-ṭ pp 125, 155, 177, 187, 247, 249, 289, 290.

32 *ibid*, p 134.

Chinese Passages

- a. 問、誰名頭陀分。頭陀有幾種法。...。
答、有十三頭陀、是佛所說、佛所制戒、此謂頭陀分。此不應說善不善無記。
- b. 問、此三行何因緣。云何可知此欲行人、此瞋行人、此癡行人。...。答、初所造因緣、諸行界為因緣、過患為因緣。云何諸行初所造因緣。於初可愛方便故、多善業成欲行人、復從天堂落生於此。多起殺割拊械怨業成瞋行人、不愛業所覆、從地獄從龍生、墮落生此。初多飲酒離間、成癡行人、從畜生墮落生此。如是行初造因緣。云何界為因緣。二界最近故、成瞋行人、所謂地界水界。二界最近故、成瞋行人、所謂火界風界。四界等故、成欲行人。如是諸行界為因緣。云何過患為因緣。最多癡成欲行人、最多瞋成瞋行人、最多風成癡行人。復有說、最多癡成癡行人、最多風成欲行人。如是過患因緣。
- c. (三種善者、謂初中後善。以清淨修行為初善、以捨增長為中善、以歡喜為後善。)云何清淨修行、謂諸善資具。云何捨增長、是謂安定。云何為歡喜、是謂為觀。如是初禪成三種善。
- d. 問曰、云何念安般。何修、何相、何味、何處、何功德、云何修行。答曰、安者入、般者出、於出入相、彼念隨念正念、此謂念安般。心住不亂、此謂修。令起安般想為相。觸思惟為味。斷覺為處。何功德者、若人修行念安般、成寂寂、成勝妙、成莊嚴可愛、自娛樂。
- e. 云何四大所造色。眼入、耳入、鼻入、舌入、身入、色入、聲入、香入、味入、女根、男根、命根、身作、口作、虛空界色、輕色、軟色、堪受持色、增長色、相續色、生色、老色、無常、揣食、處色、眠色。
- f. Taisho Vol. 32, p. 461a: 問、阿那含人為果定現觀、何故性除無隔、阿羅漢道不生。答、非樂處故、不生觀見、無力故。

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Göttingen: (the author), 1982. xxviii, 631pp.

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[REVIEW]

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Sodō Mori

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(I)

The work under review is a full-scale study of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature which, although it appeared at a slightly earlier time, was not referred to in my book on the same subject published in 1984.¹⁾ It is a German doctoral dissertation, printed privately from typescript for distribution to universities and interested scholars mainly in Europe. I would like here to attempt a review and introduction to it from a comparative point of view with my own study. These two writings have many common and similar points on the one hand, and plenty of contrasting and distinctive points on the other hand.

For example, the following four points are in common between the two:

- (1) They aim at a basic and comprehensive study of the massive Aṭṭhakathā literature (meaning here the *Visuddhimagga* and the direct commentaries on the Pāli canon) as a whole, not text by text.
- (2) With regard to the Pāli texts taken as the original material for research, they make use of the Pali Text Society's editions in Roman letters as standard, and the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest editions of Sri Lanka, the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions of Burma, the Royal

editions of Thailand, the Nālandā editions of India and so on—the so-called Oriental editions. By the efficient usage of these various editions, the two works are able to overcome some of the limitations and errors of the PTS editions.

(3) Both take as their starting point E. W. Adikaram's *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*²⁾ which is the pioneering study of the Pāli commentaries in general, although it is still inadequate and incomplete.

(4) These two voluminous publications were originally written as doctoral dissertations on which each author spent many years: the one in English was submitted to the University of Göttingen in West Germany in 1979 (Ph.D.) as already mentioned, and the other in Japanese to the University of Tokyo in Japan in 1980 (D.Litt.). It is noteworthy that they were produced and published by an independent and parallel process in Europe and Asia at almost the same time, without any mutual exchange of information or knowledge of each other.

On the other hand, there are some major differences between the two studies:

(1) Lottermoser has made a study of ten texts ascribed to Buddhaghosa as her central subject; while I have treated all the Aṭṭhakathā literature—not only those of Buddhaghosa but of other commentators as well.

(2) Her main theme concerns the question of the source material for the Aṭṭhakathā; my discussion is not limited to that but develops into some other important topics such as the chronology of the texts and their source material as a whole, the lives and works of the commentators, a comparison from a philological standpoint between the Mahāvihāra fraternity and the Abhayagirivihāra tradition, etc.

(3) She has concentrated upon an examination of all the verse-passages of the texts as being an effective clue to the source-study; whereas I have directed my attention chiefly to the proper names of persons of any status or occupation, places, temples, monasteries, buildings, countries, works, materials, etc., along with certain anonymous persons always referred to in the plural, some of whom could

be identified with named persons by means of the comments given in the Ṭikās (sub-commentaries) on the various Aṭṭhakathās. These proper names proved to be an efficient key to solving the questions of source, chronology, and other problems of a textual nature.

(4) According to the *Lebenslauf* (p. 631), Lottermoser studied while young in Burma, a leading country of Theravāda Buddhism, which afforded a basis for her present study; whereas I spent a certain period of my fruitful youth in Sri Lanka, another traditional centre for Pāli Buddhism.

(II)

I will give a very concise summary of the bulky book under review for the benefit of readers who do not have access to this publication. It primarily consists of two parts, the table of contents of which is as follows:

Part 1: Description and Evaluation of the Data

- 1 Introduction
- 2 The Ten Buddhaghosa Texts Examined
- 3 Categories of Verse Passages Found in the Ten Buddhaghosa Texts
- 4 The Sources of the Pāli Commentaries
- 5 Excourses on Methodical Side Issues and Minor Reference Patterns

(Notes to Part 1)

Part 2: Concordances, Check Lists, and Bibliographical Lists

- 1 Concordance of Verse Passages in the Ten Buddhaghosa Texts Examined
- 2 Check Lists Extracted from the Concordance
- 3 The Ten Buddhaghosa Texts in Outline and Bibliographical Lists (*Lebenslauf*)

In the first chapter of Part 1, some introductory remarks on the purpose, method and process of the study, the problems to be discussed, general explanation of the texts taken up as the subject of study,

history of research, etc. are included. The second chapter describes the ten Pāli texts written by Buddhaghosa along with a detailed bibliography, and also the reason why these ten were selected out of the fourteen which are traditionally attributed to Buddhaghosa. The selection is mainly based on certain authoritative opinions of earlier scholars.

The ten texts are:

- 1) The Visuddhimagga
- 2) The Atthasālinī: Dhammasaṅgaṇī-aṭṭhakathā
- 3) The Sammohavinodanī: Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā
- 4) The Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā: Dhātukathā-a., Pugglapaññatti-a., Kathāvatthu-a., Yamaka-a., and Paṭṭhāna-a.
- 5) The Samantapāsādikā: Vinayaṭṭhakathā
- 6) The Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī: Pātimokkhaṭṭhakathā
- 7) The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī: Dīghaṭṭhakathā
- 8) The Papañcasūdanī: Majjhimaṭṭhakathā
- 9) The Sāratthappakāsinī: Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā
- 10) The Manorathapūraṇī: Aṅguttaṭṭhakathā

These comprise the *Visuddhimagga* as Buddhaghosa's main work and the commentaries to the Abhidhammapiṭaka, Vinayapiṭaka and the first four Nikāyas. Despite of the traditional view, the *Paramatthajotikā*, (commentary on the *Khuddakapāṭha* and *Suttanipāta*), *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, and *Visuddhajānavilāsinī* (commentary on the *Apadāna*) are not recognized as his work. Consequently, the commentaries to all the fifteen texts of the Khuddakanikāya are excluded from direct examination in this study; they are nevertheless referred to in detail.

In the third chapter, all the verse passages in the ten Buddhaghosa texts under consideration are thoroughly investigated. That is to say, about 2,600 verses in all collected from these ten are examined from four different points of view: (1) the length of the individual verse passage, (2) duplication within the ten texts, (3) source references obtained, (4) parallels traced in the commentaries of the Khuddakanikāya. Regarding the length of the verse passage, it is

concluded that single verses embedded in prose amount to 71.9%; long verse passages to 23.7%; and verse fragments to 4.4% (p.90). With respect to duplication, which means the repeated occurrences of the same verse passage, several technical terms have been newly coined and used for the examination of the verse passages. 'Duplicate' signifies the repeated occurrence of the same verse passage in the ten Buddhaghosa texts, and 'text-internal duplicate' is used as a term for the repeated occurrence of the same verse within the same Buddhaghosa text. 'Parallel', on the other hand, is a specific term for the verse passages of the Buddhaghosa texts which are found in the *Khuddakaṭṭhakathā*, i.e. the commentaries not attributed to Buddhaghosa in this study. 'Standard set of duplicates' is the abstract of reference patterns meant to define duplication among several different Buddhaghosa texts. 'Serial duplication' refers to sequences with uniform patterns of duplication observed between larger text sections belonging to different Buddhaghosa texts. Using these unique points of investigation, detailed analysis of the structure and complexed connection of the commentaries is made with many tables to a greater extent than ever before. The fourth chapter is the most important and conclusive part of the book. In order to elucidate the sources of the Pāli commentaries, some serial duplicate passages not only of verse but of prose in the ten Buddhaghosa texts centring upon the *Visuddhimagga* together with the English translations of the Chinese versions of the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Vimuttimaggā*, and some serial parallels between the texts mentioned above and other non-Buddhaghosa commentaries are thoroughly discussed. These are the passages dealing with two Abhidhammic matters; the topics of 'cakkavāḷa' and of 'ānāpānassati'; a story of the 'foundation of Vesālī'; and the exegesis of 'mahāvana' and of the 'iti pi so' formula. Next in this chapter, the argument proceeds to the problem of the categories of 'source references' collected in the Concordance of Verse Passages (=CVP) and that of source references in the Pāli texts preceding Buddhaghosa. With reference to the former, two of the categories, single source references and multiple source references

are further expounded. With reference to the latter, certain tables illustrating the relation between the Buddhaghosa texts and their preceding source texts are shown. The succeeding two paragraphs are of the greatest importance. The first deals with lost sources used for the compilation of the Pāli commentaries. Here the lost *Jātaka* commentary, the Ancients (Porāṇas), the Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā literature as the major lost source, and some other lost sources (ariyavaṃsa, ācariyagāthā and ānisaṃsakathā) are described, partly on the basis of the researches of previous scholars. (p.216.) The second paragraph states the four stages in the gradual growth of the lost source materials collectively referred to as 'Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā,' namely the stages of floating tradition; diversification; standardization; and translation. As a result of the detailed investigation in the fourth chapter as explained above, which is preceded by the preliminary study in the earlier chapters in Part 1 and by numerous concordances, check lists and diagrams in Part 2 as well, Lottermoser finally presents a diagram (Table XXXI: Direction of Major Sectional Borrowing for the Ten Buddhaghosa Texts Examined, p.228) with notes, which can be regarded as the conclusion of the work. This diagram (Table XXXI), on which some comments will be made later on, is reproduced on the next page after a part of the abbreviations for it.

ABBREVIATIONS (continued to p.132)

As : Atthasālinī

ChL : Check List Extracted from the Concordance (in Part 2)

D : Dighanikāya

Dhp : Dhammapada

†Ja : Jātakaṭṭhakathā, the lost Jātaka commentary

Kkh : Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī

Mp : Manoratthapūraṇī

Pj : Paramatthajotikā

Ppk-a : Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā

Ps : Papañcasūdanī

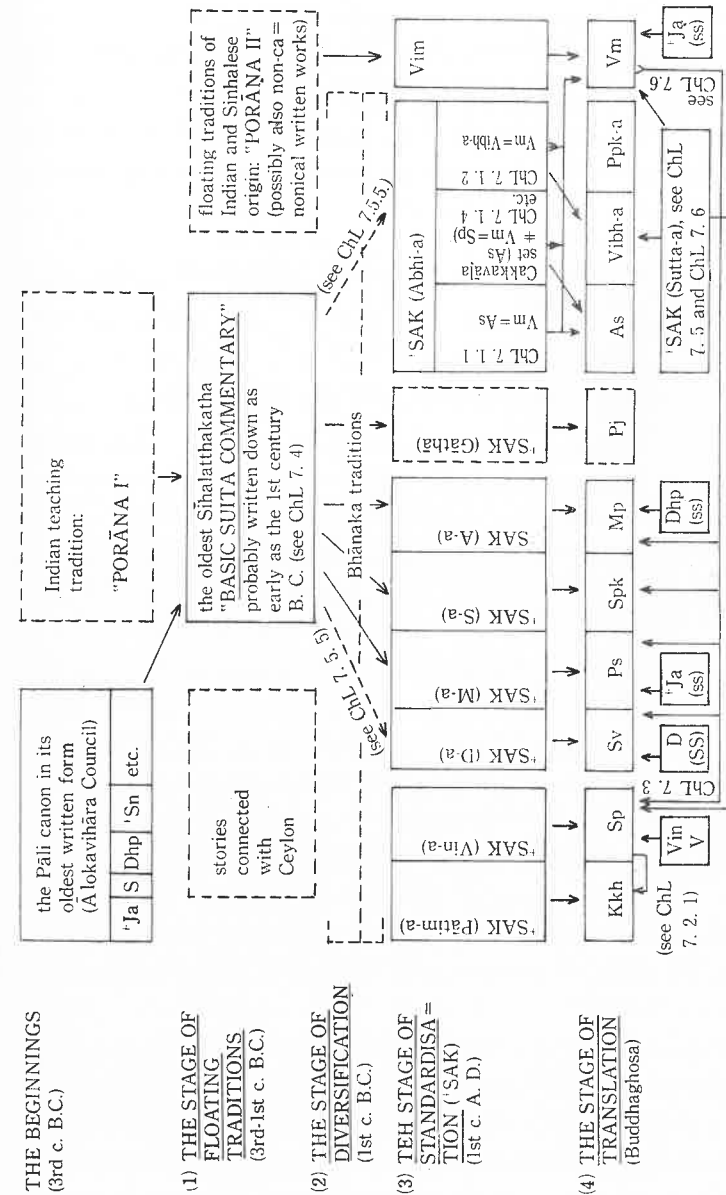
S : Saṃyuttanikāya

†SAK : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā, the lost Sinhalese commentaries

†SAK(A-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Aṅguttaranikāya

†SAK(Abhi-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Abhidhammapiṭaka

Table XXXI: Direction of Major Sectional Borrowing for the Ten Buddhaghosa Texts Examined



ABBREVIATIONS (continued from p.130)

- †SAK(D-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Dighanikāya
 †SAK(Gāthā) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on early canonical verse texts
 †SAK(M-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Majjhimanikāya
 †SAK(Pātim-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Pātimokkha
 †SAK(S-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Saṃyuttanikāya
 †SAK(Sutta-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Suttapiṭaka except the Khuddakanikāya
 †SAK(Vin-a) : Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā on the Vinayapiṭaka
 Sn : Individual texts of Sn before the compilation of the present collection
 Sp : Samantapāsādikā
 Spk : Sāratthapakāsinī
 ss : single source reference(s)
 Sutta-a : Sutta commentaries (i.e. Sv, Ps, Spk, Mp)
 Sv : Sumaṅgalavilāsinī
 v : verse, verses
 Vibh-a : Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā
 Vim : Vimuttimagga
 Vin : Vinayapiṭaka
 Vin-a : Vinayaṭṭhakathā
 Vm : Visuddhimagga

After the above diagram, in the last portion of the fourth chapter, the paragraphs of the Pāli canon as a source for the Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā; of Buddhaghosa and the commentaries on the Khuddakanikāya; and of parallels in the Non-Theravāda literature are additionally given.

Chapter E, the last of Part 1, is a sort of appendix which is a collection of fourteen minor articles and study-notes on the Aṭṭhakathā literature or topics closely related to it. These have been discussed as a by-product or as a preliminary note in the course of the major study. The variety of the topics can be seen merely from the titles:

- (1) What is a Quotation?; (2) The Degree of Correspondence with the Source; (3) Abbreviations Used for the *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (Ppk-a) in the CPD; (4) Text-internal Duplicates Used to Structure the Prose Text ((a) The 'Topical Couplet' of the *Samantapāsādikā*; (b) A Set of Author Verses in the *Visuddhimagga*; (c) The Verse Passages on the Thirteen Dhutaṅgas); (5) The Context-Sensitive

Interpretation of Reference Patterns; (6) Series of Short Quotation in Close Succession ((a) The Exegesis of '*Brahmacariya* (Noble Practice)'; (b) Lexicographical Explanations in the 'Tertiary Nidānakathā of All Sutta Commentaries'; (c) Strings of Quotations in the Standard Exegesis of the Formula Describing the Conversion of a Lay-follower. (A Sideline Showing Overlapping Reference Patterns)); (7) Traces of Older Classifications of the Pāli Canon; (8) Sanskrit Parallels to the Works of Buddhaghosa (Parallels in the *Mahāvadānasūtra*).

Some of the above topics could well be further discussed and developed by other scholars as well as Lottermoser.

Part 2 contains three basic sets of data which were primarily composed and used as evidence for various subjects discussed in Part 1. The greater part of the author's time on this work, indeed, must have been spent in producing such exhaustive data as well as thirty-one numbered and nineteen unnumbered tables and diagrams utilized in Part 1 which were made on the basis of the data in question. The first set of data is a concordance of all verse passages in the ten Buddhaghosa texts in the order of their occurrence in each text. Each concordance for the ten texts has five or six columns: the first column lists the Buddhaghosa passages under discussion; the second column lists the canonical source references; the third lists Jātaka references, i.e. the *Jātaka* itself and the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* and "post-canonical or semi-canonical sources" meaning here the *Nettipakaraṇa*, *Peṭkopadesa*, *Milindapañha* and *Dīpavaṃsa*; the fourth lists duplicates in other Buddhaghosa texts (in the section dealing with the four Sutta commentaries, this column is further divided into two: Buddhaghosa I" listing duplicates in the *Visuddhimagga* and the commentaries of the Vinaya and Abhidhamma piṭakas, and "Buddhaghosa II" listing duplicates in the remaining three Sutta commentaries); and the fifth lists parallels to "other commentaries", i.e. references found in the commentaries to the Khuddakanikāya except the *Jātaka* commentary. The second set of data is a collection of the thirteen kinds of check list which are extracted from the above

concordance, intended to give a summary of specific types of verse passages. The titles of the check lists(=ChL) are as follows:

- ChL 1 Verse Passages Missed by Some Editors of the Printed Texts
- ChL 2 Prologue and Epilogue Verses
- ChL 3 Verse Fragments
- ChL 4 Long Verse Passages
- ChL 5 Non-duplicated Verse Passages
- ChL 6 Verse Passages Duplicated in the Same Text
- ChL 7 The Standard Sets of Duplicates
- ChL 8 Types of Duplication
- ChL 9 Untraced Verse Passages
- ChL 10 Analysis of Source References
- ChL 11 Patterns for Alternative Source References
- ChL 12 Inadequate Source References
- ChL 13 Conflicting Source References

The following is an explanation of the above lists which is given in the statement entitled 'Conventions' (p.447):

ChL 1-4 illustrate the preliminary enquiries made into the types of verse passages according to external criteria. The prologue and epilogue verses, which are certainly not quoted from earlier sources, are sorted out. In ChL 5-8 the pattern of duplication is defined. In ChL 9-13 specific "source patterns" are set up for all verse passages which are "potential quotations". The earlier check lists are simpler, since they omit information given in the CVP, while the relevant information is condensed. Later lists increase in complexity. Information not given in the CVP is added in ChL 2, ChL 8, and ChL 10-13. Almost every list has its peculiarities, but the notation should generally be clear since the principles used in the CVP are applied with only very slight modifications.

The third set of data is concerned with the ten Buddhaghosa texts and relevant bibliographies. It is composed of five sections: the first section, named "Text-internal Subdivisions and the Distribution of Verse Passages in the Ten Buddhaghosa Texts Studied in Detail",

gives a table of all the titles of chapters in each text along with the number of pages and verse passages in each chapter. "Synoptical Table of Text Sections in Different Editions for the Ten Buddhaghosa Texts Studied in Detail" is the title of the second section. Here five or six different editions of the original text, that is to say the Romanized edition (one or two), Burmese edn., Sri Lankan edn., Thai edn., and Indian edn., are identified with the page of each text section. The third section in this set is a concordance between the bibliography of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (H. Smith 1948 Epilegomena to Vol. I, pp. 37-51) and the literature consulted for this study. The fourth section is an alphabetical check list of editors and translators of Pāli texts consulted for this study, in which only first prints of English romanized editions for original texts and those of English and German translations are listed. The last section contains two bibliographies to Part 1: one is a bibliography of books and articles by modern writers and the other is that of classical texts consulted or referred to in this study, in which the texts already treated in the list of abbreviations (p. XIIIff.) are not dealt with again.

(III)

Certain points are to be noted here for further research.

(A) As already stated, the conclusion of Lottermoser's present study has been illustrated in the diagram shown above. It is indeed the first and only diagram ever drawn of this sort, by which a better understanding of the mutual relation and stages of development of various complicated source materials for the Pāli commentaries of Buddhaghosa becomes possible. As the author herself suggests, however, in the Notes to Table XXXI, i.e. the diagram under consideration (p. 229), it is still incomplete and gives room for improvement. Although I myself have at present no definite suggestions for completing this diagram, it can be pointed out at least that many similar old sources not found in it remain to be added to it. Adikaram listed twenty-eight such sources³⁾; whereas I examined altogether

thirty-five in my book (pp. 114-307). Some are mere names which are either identifiable with others or just general forms such as the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*. These are the *Suttantaṭṭhakathā*, *Āgamaṭṭhakathā*, *Pubbāṭṭhakathā*, *Pubbopadesaṭṭhakathā*, and *Aṭṭhakathā* in the plural. But many of the rest should be given their proper places in the diagram. These are the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, a typical source commentary composed in Sri Lanka; some Vinaya commentaries such as the *Mahāpaccarī-aṭṭhakathā*, *Kurundī-aṭṭhakathā*, *Andhakaṭṭhakathā*, and *San̄khepaṭṭhakathā*; some minor sources such as the *Vinopamaṭṭhakathā* and *Ussadakittana* as a portion of the *Vipākakathā* as well as many authorities with non-literary names, besides the *Porāṇā* and *Bhāṇakā* who are already included in the diagram. These authorities are the *Pubbācariyā*, *Aṭṭhakathācariyā* (*Aṭṭhakathikā*)⁴⁰, *Ācariyavāda*, *Parasamuddavāsi-therā*, *Porāṇakattherā* (*Porāṇakabhikkhū*), *Ācariya*, and *Therasallāpa*.

Lottermoser is very keen to examine older sources such as the Pāli canon, semi-canon, *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*, etc. However it is also necessary to turn our consideration to the Pāli commentaries themselves as a contemporary source material of the greatest importance. She points out the difficulty of assessing the direction of borrowing for duplicates and parallels (p.20). This matter definitely depends upon the order in which the Pāli commentaries were written, and this can be ascertained on occasion by checking all the mutual references found in them. It is obvious that, in general, an earlier text can be referred to in a later text, but the opposites cannot happen, unless it is a later insertion. From this point of view, all the references from all the Pāli commentaries in question were investigated by me. This resulted in a diagram in my work (p.100), through which the direction of borrowing and mutual relations—close or independent—among them have been cleared up to a considerable degree.

The source references for the Pāli commentarial literature are not limited to the named materials, but we are able to see throughout the commentaries (and even in sub-commentaries) another category of source material. That is a large number of anonymous sources

which are called 'some' or 'others' (*aññe*, *apare*, *itare*, *ekacce*, *eke*, *keci*, *pare*, *ye...te...*, etc. always expressed in the plural indicating a certain group of specialists, not a private individual). In spite of the majority of them being still unknown, some of them have been identified with already known sources through the comments of *Ṭikās*, such as the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*, a commentarial text of the *Abhayagiri* fraternity on at least the first four *Nikāyas*, the *Sārasamāsa*, the same kind of text quite probably of the *Dakkhiṇagiri* vihāra, and the well known *Vimuttimaggā* written by *Upatissa*, a work of the *Abhayagiri* vihāra which precedes the *Visuddhimaggā* and which has been fitted into Lottermoser's diagram (See pp. 559-689 in my book). Therefore the first two "concealed" sources of the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity which have been lost today, also should be inserted into the diagram in the same way as the *Vimuttimaggā*.

(B) The chronology of the kings of Sri Lanka is one of the fundamental matters for the historical study of any subject concerning ancient or mediaeval Sri Lanka. The most commonly used chronology of this kind by scholars seems at present to be the "List of Sinhalese Kings" composed by W. Geiger, although, rather exceptionally, Lottermoser seems to follow Winternitz's view, which appeared before Geiger's list was published. However, is Geiger's list really the only reliable chronology? We should pay attention to the fact that Geiger's list had already been altered in part only two years after it was published in 1929, and other alterations were made subsequently. I contributed to a journal⁴¹ an article entitled "Chronology of Sri Lanka's Kings: history of research since W. Geiger", which contains a comparative table of four major chronologies headed by Geiger's. This is now included as a chapter in my book (pp. 319-338). As I have no room here to repeat my discussion of this topic, I merely give a bibliographical list of the chronologies published after Geiger's list.

No.1 H.E. Amarasekere (1931): "Sinhalese Chronology of the 14th & 15th Centuries A.D., recast according to Sinhalese Inscriptions and Contemporary Annals" (*Ceylon Literary Register*,

- Vol. I, No. 4, Colombo, pp. 158-160).
- No. 2 R. C. Procter (1932): "Ceylon Chronology" (*Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, No. 5, Colombo, pp. 199-204 & 287).
- No. 3 Ryūshō Higata (1943): "Chronology of Ceylon Kings and the Ceylon Kings in the Periods of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra" (in Japanese) (*Mikkyō Kenkyū*, No. 86, Koyasan, Japan, pp. 1-40).
- No. 4 G. C. Mendis (1947): "The Chronology of the Early Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon" (*University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. V, No. 1, Peradeniya, pp. 39-54).
- No. 4A The same author (1947): "List of Kings with Dates" (*The Early History of Ceylon or the Indian Period of Ceylon History*, 5th edn., Calcutta, pp. 121-25).
- No. 5 S. Paranavitana (1955): "Chronology of Ceylon Kings: Mahāsena—Mahinda V" (*Epigraphia Zeylancia*, Vol. V, pt. 1, Colombo, pp. 80-111).
- No. 5A The same author (1960): "A Chronological List of Ceylon Kings", (H. C. Roy, etc., ed. *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, Colombo, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 843-47).
- No. 6 S. Paranavitana (1960): "New Light on the Buddhist Era in Ceylon and Early Sinhalese Chronology" (*University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3, 4, pp. 129-55).
- No. 6A C. W. Nicholas & S. Paranavitana (1961): *University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon*, Colombo, pp. 341-46.

No. 1 discussed the chronology of the eight kings between Bhuva-nekabāhu IV and Parakkamabāhu VI. No. 2 dealt with only three kings in the 13th & 14th centuries, i.e. Vijayabāhu III, Parakkamabāhu II and Vijayabāhu IV. As these two studies made few alterations, they had little effect upon later chronologies. No. 3 was the only chronology composed by a Japanese scholar, which examined the whole period of the Sinhalese dynasty and especially the reigns of the kings who met Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, two famous esoteric Buddhist monks who visited Sri Lanka at different times. No. 4 was a very influential study made by an eminent native historian, which denied the traditional Buddhist era of Sri Lanka

starting from B.C. 544/3 or B.C. 483 and which revised the chronology from Vijaya to Mahāsena. No. 4A was a slight revision by the same author of No. 4, which extended the chronology of Vijaya—Mahāsena to that of Vijaya—Parakkamabāhu VIII. No. 5 was a slightly improved chronology which was mainly based on No. 4A and the author's own new discovery of the Tāmgoḍa Vihāra Inscription of the 6th c. A.D. on Kittisirimegha, Nos. 4A and 5 developed into No. 5A. No. 6 was a further improvement of the chronology between Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Hatthadāṭha on the basis of No. 5A by the same author as a result of his later epigraphical research on a newly discovered rock inscription of the 4th century A.D. The most recent chronology is No. 6A which was the last chronology produced by the same author. This covers the period from the beginning upto the early 16th c. A.D. on the basis of No. 6. Nos. 3, 5A and 6A together with Geiger's list were included in my comparative table mentioned above.

A comparison between the lists of Geiger and Paranavitana (No. 6A), makes it clear that the difference is large especially in earlier times. For example, for the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Geiger gives 101-70 B.C., while Paranavitana gives 161-137 B.C.; for Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, the former gives 43 and 29-17 B.C. (restored), and the latter 103-102 and 89-77. Thus Paranavitana, the compiler of the latest chronology, gives earlier dates than Geiger by about sixty years at the maximum. It is argued among some scholars, however, that the late Professor Paranavitana's work, especially in his last few years, is not entirely trustworthy. Those who are of this opinion must nevertheless examine Mendis's research, from which Paranavitana developed his chronology. The fact remains that any scholar who wishes to accept Geiger's list must express his own views on the newer chronologies of Mendis and Paranavitana, unless he is ignorant of them.

(C) As has already been stated, Lottermoser selected ten texts as the works of Buddhaghosa out of the fourteen traditionally ascribed to him (p. 6f.). Having given the various views of earlier scholars,

she ends by agreeing with Adikaram on Buddhaghosa's authorship, which agrees with the choice in the epilegomena to the *Critical Pali Dictionary*. Yet I do not think that the problem of his authorship has been settled. In fact the more we search the inner aspects of these texts, the more we are confused about their authorship, since the evidence they give is mutually contradictory.

For instance:

(a) With regard to 'kammaṭṭhāna' (object or method of meditation) which was systematized not in Early Buddhism but only in the Theravāda School, the thirty-eight kinds are described in the *Vimuttimaggā*⁹⁰ by Upatissa of the Abhayagiri as well as in some Buddhaghosa texts¹⁰ such as the *Atthasālinī*, *Samantapāsādikā*, and *Sammohavinodanī* along with the *Suttanipātattakathā* (II-499). On the other hand, the forty kinds of *kammaṭṭhāna*, adding *āloka-kasiṇa* and *paricchinṇākāsa-kasiṇa* to the above thirty-eight items, are found in the *Visuddhimaggā* (p.110f.), the major work of Buddhaghosa.

(b) Moreover we are able to see at different places in the *Sāratthapakāsinī* two items of *kammaṭṭhāna* other than the above forty, i.e. *cha-phassāyatana-kammaṭṭhāna* (III-55) and *kilesa-kammaṭṭhāna* (I-71), which are not included in the *kammaṭṭhāna* system. As a person who believes in Buddhaghosa's authorship for most of the texts attributed to him, I have to try to present a reasonable explanation for these contradictions. With respect to (a) it is reasonable to suggest that the thirty-eight-system was an older theory of the original Theravāda school, from which both the *Vimuttimaggā* of the Abhayagiri and the old Sihaḷa source material used for the texts of the Mahāvihāra introduced it as their own system; while the forty-kind-system was a new theory established by Buddhaghosa himself in his *Visuddhimaggā*. When he composed the *Atthasālinī* and other commentaries stated above, he copied the early theory which he found in their source material. As regards (b), however, I still feel difficulty in explaining the contradiction. As is clear from the above instances, the matter of Buddhaghosa's authorship has not been solved as yet. It is without doubt one of the most important and

difficult problems to be settled in the Aṭṭhakathā study. It is necessary first of all to collect as many as possible philological, linguistical and doctrinal facts and aspects which are perhaps contradictory to one another from all the ascribed texts, and then to examine and interpret them collectively and inductively. It is only this exhaustive method that can be expected to lead to a final successful conclusion, for any investigation based on limited materials from a onesided point of view will always result in a wrong conclusion. Incidentally, in my book (p.469f.) all the fourteen texts traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa have primarily been classified into two groups and treated in parallel: one is the seven texts whose authorship has never doubted, i.e. the *Visuddhimaggā*, the two Vinaya commentaries, and the commentaries on the first four Nikāyas; the other group is the remaining seven texts whose authorship has more or less been questioned by various scholars, i.e. the commentaries on the three Abhidhammapiṭaka texts and on the four Khuddakanikāya texts. By this parallel treatment, it is possible to regard the problem of Buddhaghosa's authorship as unsettled and to pay constant attention to it, even when other matters concerning these texts are being investigated. It is necessary to continue the search in this way until a satisfactory solution is reached. The general situation is exactly the same with the authorship problems of other commentators such as Dhammapāla, Buddhaddatta, Upasena and Mahānāma.

(D) Lastly a few minor points are to be questioned.

(a) Upatissa: *Vimuttimaggā* (edited) by Ratnajoti and Ratnapāla, Colombo 1963.

This text is listed up in the Classical Texts Consulted or Referred to, a part of the Bibliography to Part 1 (p.629). It is dealt with in this place as if it were an original Pāli text. This book entitled "*Vimuttimaggā*" in Sinhalese letters contains a main text with this title together with its Sinhalese translation and a few other works. But the main text is a sort of forgery which has been extracted from Pāli passages in the *Vimuttimaggā* and *Visuddhimaggā*: a comparative study

written by P.V.Bapat (Poona, 1937).¹¹⁾

- (b) As to the identification of the Pubbācariyas (Former Teachers) and the Porāṇas (Ancients), Lottermoser, following Adikaram's opinion, considers these two as the same, and refers to the parallel passages in verse in the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 523) and the *Sammohavinodanī* (p. 130). In these places, however, the former is quoted as an independent source of the latter, so that it is necessary to think that the two authorities are very close but different. Incidentally the Pubbācariyas are also cited in prose in the *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā* (pp. 64, 65) and they are referred to by name on another page of the same text (p. 14).

Dr. Friedgard Lottermoser's laborious work which has taken years to finish is surely very valuable in the history of research into Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature on the one hand, although on the other hand it has raised many new problems. Since her study and mine more or less supplement each other, there is no doubt that, when the information and knowledge stated in her work and mine are combined, the study of this rather neglected field will be carried forward to a much higher stage. Many questions still remain unanswered. To find their solutions great efforts will need to be made by Dr. Lottermoser and myself. It is to be hoped that those who read these two books will also become sufficiently interested in these problems to wish to join in the search for their answers.

Notes

(The Pāli texts quoted here by the reviewer are the Pali Text Society's editions unless specified otherwise.)

- 1) Sodō Mori: *Pāli Bukkyō-chūshaku-bunken no Kenkyū: Aṭṭhakathā no Jyōzaku-teki Yōsō*, or *A Study of the Pāli Commentaries: Theravādic aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās*. Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin, 1984, ¥19,000, 20, 6, viii, 8, 718pp.
- 2) Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1946, 1953.
- 3) *ibid.* p. 10.
- 4) On them my English article is available: Sodō Mori: "Aṭṭhakathācari-

yas and Aṭṭhakathikas", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukyōgaku Kenkyū)* Vol. XXXI, No. 2, Tokyo, March 1983, pp. (1)-(7).

- 5) As for the source study of the Pāli commentaries, the following English article of mine is to be referred to; Sodō Mori: "The Vitaṇḍavādins (Sophists) as Seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās", *Essays on the Pāli and Buddhist Civilization*, edited by the Society for the Study of the Pāli and Buddhist Civilization, published by Sankibo Busshorin, Tokyo 1982, pp. 1(188)-18 (171).
- 6) W. Geiger (tr.): *Cūḷavaṃsa*, Colombo 1929, pt. II, pp. VIII-XV.
- 7) Geiger published two chronologies of the kings of Sri Lanka: one is contained in his English translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (in 1912) which is the chronology from the first king up to Mahāsena, and the other is contained in his English translation of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (in 1929, cf. note 6) which is the chronology of all the kings. The former was revised and included in the latter which is the one I am considering here.
- 8) *Buddhist Studies*, Hamamatsu, Japan, 1973, No. 6, pp. (57)-(81).
- 9) *Taisho* Vol. 32, p. 411aff.
- 10) *Atthasālinī* p. 168; *Samantapāsādikā* Vol. I, p. 229, II-417, VI-1232; *Sāratthappakāsinī* I-104, III-184 = *Sammohavinodanī* p. 349, p. 364.
- 11) See P. V. Bapat: Review of the *Vimuttimaggā*, in *Journal of Vidyalan-kara University of Ceylon*, Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, 1972, Vol. I, No. 1. pp. 172-90.

(I am grateful to Mr. K. R. Norman of the University of Cambridge for the discussions that we have had together about this matter.)

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Some Minor Sources for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās

—with reference to Lottermoser's study—

Sodō Mori

Study of the sources for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature⁽¹⁾ has made considerable progress due to the recent work of Dr. Friedgard Lottermoser⁽²⁾ and myself.⁽³⁾ Our works do not pretend to serve as the final word on the subject; in fact, further detailed research should be carried out based on the directions indicated in these books.

The present article concerns one of the topics raised in Dr. Lottermoser's book, wherein she has briefly pointed out the following six kinds of "vague source references in the prose context":⁽⁴⁾

1. *Ariyavaṃsa* 1 (the lineage of the noble ones)
2. *Ācariyagāthā* ✓ (the verse of a teacher)
3. *Ācariyaparamparā* (the lineage of teachers)
4. *Ānisaṃsakathā* v^o (talk on profits)
5. *Pubbācariyehi* n^o (by the former teachers)
6. *Māgandiyasuttupattiyam* 1^o (the origin of the Māgandiyasutta)

The majority of these six references are not mentioned in the relevant section of my book, which contains discourses on a total of thirty-five such sources for the Pāli commentaries.⁽⁵⁾ Furthermore, Lottermoser's discussion about these six is too concise to allow any "clear-cut" conclusion. Therefore, I would like to examine each of them except for numbers 1 and 3. The first still has many aspects requiring careful and thorough examination, despite the detailed study by W. Rāhula,⁽⁶⁾ but involves many difficulties in researching. The third item will not be considered here either, because this is not a reference to a source but an indication of a topic to be investigated, as stated by Lottermoser herself. I have treated this topic in detail elsewhere.⁽⁷⁾ The remaining four source references will be the subject of the present article.

Ācariyagāthā

Lottermoser explains the Ācariyagāthā as follows:

"*ācariyagāthā* (the verse of a teacher)" (Spk II 267). Adikaram (1946, 1953 p.15) discusses this source. He identifies it with the 'Aṭṭhakathā', or with the views of individual teachers, who are presumably somewhat later than the main teaching tradition codified in the *Sihāḷaṭṭhakathā*.

Adikaram's discussion referred to above is as follows.⁽⁸⁾

The *Ācariyavādas* (talks or expositions of the teachers) are the same as the *Aṭṭhakathās* (*Ācariyavādo nāma Aṭṭhakathā*), and in degree of authenticity are second only to the Canonical Texts. If any views expressed in the *Ācariyavādas* do not agree with the Suttantas the former are to be rejected. The individual views or opinions expressed by well known teachers are classed as the *Ācariyamatas* (opinions of teachers) and are different from the *Aṭṭhakathā* expositions. These opinions, if they are not corroborated by the Text or the Commentary, are not to be regarded as essentially correct. Similar in significance to the *Ācariyamatas* are the expositions attributed to the *Ācariyas* (teachers) referred to often in the Pāli Commentaries as *Ācariyā vadanti* and *Ācariyā kathayanti* (the teachers say). The great theras such as Mahāpaduma belong to this group of teachers.

As Adikaram's pioneering study of the Sihāḷa sources is on the whole inadequate and unsatisfactory, I have investigated these sources, i.e., the *Ācariyavāda*, *Ācariyamata*, and *Ācariyā*, together with all other such sources. Detailed discussion of my work on them goes beyond the scope of the present paper, but my conclusions on these three sources are, briefly, as follows. The *Ācariyavāda* in this case is identical with the *Aṭṭhakathā*.⁽⁹⁾ The *Ācariyas* spoken of here are none other than the *Aṭṭhakathācariyas* who originated in India.⁽¹⁰⁾ On the other hand, the "*Ācariyas*" refers to some group of elders in Sri Lanka. Both sources are more or less recognized by the Mahāvihāra fraternity in Theravāda Buddhism as authorities second only to the Pāli Tipiṭaka. The *Ācariyavāda* from India is, generally speaking, more authoritative than the *Ācariyas* from Lanka. The *Ācariyamata*, indicated by Adikaram with the only reference to the *Atthāsālinī*⁽¹¹⁾ is not to be regarded as a source under consideration, because it does not represent the views or opinions of a group of authoritative elders, but rather those of a private elder. Adikaram also fails to discuss the "*Ācariyagāthā*".

Now we proceed to the *Ācariyagāthā* itself. As Lottermoser shows in the above quotation, reference to the *Ācariyagāthā* is found in only one place in

the Pāli Commentaries.⁽¹²⁾ Professor Mizuno⁽¹³⁾ has shown that this *gāthā* cannot be found in the Pāli canon: therefore, this represents the only reference to it in either the Pāli canon or the commentaries. The verse is included in a passage which comments on (5) "Ānanda" in the Fourth Chapter, "Natumahka-vagga", of the Twenty-second Section, "Khandha-Saṃyutta", of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.⁽¹⁴⁾ The passage is as follows:⁽¹⁵⁾

...Apare pana vadanti arūpa-dhammānaṃ jarā-khaṇo nāma na sakkā paññāpetuṃ. Sammāsambuddho ca '...' ti vadanto arūpa-dhammānaṃ pi tīṇi lakkhaṇāni paññāpeti, tāni atthi-kkhaṇaṃ upādāya labhatī ti vatvā,
(.... one verse...)

imāya ācariya-gāthāya tam atthaṃ sādhehi. Atha vā santati-vasena thānaṃ thitī ti vedittabbaṃ ti ca vadanti. Yasmā pana sutte ayaṃ vireso n'atthi, tasmā ācariyamatiyā suttaṃ apaṭibāhetvā suttaṃ eva pamāṇaṃ kattabbaṃ.

As is clear from this quotation, the *Ācariyagāthā* is not directly cited here by Buddhaghosa, the author of the *Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā*, but it is cited by "apare" ("others"). Numerous references to such anonymous persons are found throughout the Pāli commentaries, referred to as "some (persons)" or "others" (*aññe*, *apare*, *itare*, *ekacce*, *eke*, *keci*, *pare*, *ye...* *te...*, etc.) who are always shown in the plural form indicating a group of persons rather than some individual. The number of reference to them, to my knowledge,⁽¹⁶⁾ amounts to about six hundred in all. From the comments on them in the Pāli sub-commentaries (*Ṭīkā*s) on the *Aṭṭhakathās*, some of these anonymous authorities can be identified with such Buddhist schools or fraternities as the Abhayagirivāsins or Uttaravihāravāsins, Sārasamāsācariyas (quite probably, Dakkhināgiri-vihāravāsins), Mahāsaṅghikas, Andhakas, Viññāṇavādins, etc. However, the majority of these anonymous sources remain unclassified, and likewise the "apare" in the above passage, having no identifying comment in the *Saṃyuttaṭṭhikā*.⁽¹⁷⁾ In any case, the view of the above *apare* who refer to the *Ācariyagāthā* is finally rejected by Buddhaghosa in the last part of the quotation: "Since this divergent opinion does not exist in the Scripture, the views of the Scripture should not be rejected in favor of the view of a teacher (i.e., the *ācariya-gāthā*), but should be accepted as standard." Probably the most that can be said about the "apare" in this case is that they are sure to have belonged to some school other than that of the Theravādins.

Ānisamsakathā

The description of this word by Lottermoser is as follows:

“*ānisamsakathā* (talk on profits)” (As 72¹ B⁷(7)). This is an abstract from the context: “*ye te katābhinihārānaṃ bodhisattānaṃ ānisamsā saṃvaṇṇitā: ...ti. te ānisamse adhiqantvā āgato.*” (What has been praised as the profits of the Bodhisattas, who have made an aspiration [for Buddhahood], thus: ... Having attained to these profits he has come [through the rounds of rebirth].”) Here, too, a source reference is not actually given. We can, however, see that older stereotypes are employed, since descriptions of the ‘benefits’ (*ānisamsa*) are a regular feature of a specific strata in the growth of the exegetical literature (cf. the conversations used in Vim and Vm).⁽¹⁸⁾

The Pāli passage in the above quotation is originally preceded with the word “*āgacchanto*”, and the ellipsis shown as “...” is to be filled with seven verses which praise the profits (*ānisamsa*) of the Bodhisattas. The same verses can be seen not only in the *Atthasālinī* pointed out by Lottermoser above, but also in the commentaries on the *Jātaka*, *Apadāna*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *Buddhavaṃsa*.⁽¹⁹⁾ Of these six references, the passage under discussion is included in the respective chapters named “*Dūrenidāna*” of the commentaries on the *Jātaka* and *Apadāna* and in their parallel part in the *Atthasālinī*. These three parts are basically identical throughout all the pages.⁽²⁰⁾ In the *Buddhavaṃsa* *aṭṭhakathā*, only the preceding seventeen lines and the following half line of the seven verses in question are the same as the corresponding lines in the above three texts. As regards the *Cariyāpiṭaka* *aṭṭhakathā*, only the preceding half line and the following half line of the seven verses are identical with the corresponding part of the remaining five texts referred to above.

It is not “*Ānisamsakathā*” but “*Ānisamsa*” that is referred to in the passage under discussion, and it is clear that the *Ānisamsa* is not a source of reference in that context. Incidentally, a chapter entitled “*Ānisamsa-kathā*” can be found in the *Kathāvatthu*,⁽²¹⁾ and two chapters entitled “*Ānisamsa-vagga*” exist in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.⁽²²⁾ However, the contents of these three parts differ from the passage in question. We are finally able to conclude that the *Ānisamsa* under consideration here is not a source of reference in any sense.

Pubbācariya

Lottermoser describes this word as follows:

“*pubbācariyehi* (by the former teachers)” (Vm 523¹(1)=Vibh-a 130^{III}). This VP belongs to the Abhidhamma Duplicates II, where 3 canonical VP are found along with 75 untraced VP, and 1 VP ascribed to “*Porāṇa*”. Since this extensive duplicate section is most probably derived from *SAK (Abhi-a) (see § 4.2.2), the “*Porāṇas*” mentioned must belong at least to the stage of floating traditions before the writing down of the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*. It is likely that the “*Pubbācariyas*” are the same as the “*Porāṇas*” referred to here. This view is also held by Adikaram (l.c., p.21).

The source for the *Pubbācariyas* in the Pāli commentaries is not limited to these two referred to above. We can find other references to this authority on pages 14, 64, and 65 in the *Khuddakapāṭha* *aṭṭhakathā*. Of the above three references, the second and the third are prose quotations, whereas the first is a mere reference to the name. With respect to the above identical references in the *Visuddhimagga* and *Vibhaṅga* *aṭṭhakathā*, the passage is as follows:⁽²³⁾

Pakatiyā pi ca dukkarā va Paṭiccasamuppādassa atthasaṃvaṇṇanā. Yath’ āhu Porāṇā:

(... one verse...)

Tasmā aññatra āgamādhigamappattehi na sukarā Paṭiccasamuppādassa atthavaṇṇanā ti paritulyayitvā:

(...three verses...)

Vuttaṃ h’etaṃ pubbācariyehi:

(...one verse).

It is obvious that this passage is concerned with an exposition of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and that it contains one verse from the *Porāṇas* as well as from the *Pubbācariyas*. The *Porāṇas* are one of the most important source authorities for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās, originating in India and developing in Sri Lanka. A great number of their views and opinions, which were highly esteemed by Pāli commentators like Buddhaghosa, are recorded in many commentaries—93 kinds in verse and 24 kinds in prose.⁽²⁴⁾ In the passage cited above, the verse of the *Pubbācariyas* is affirmatively referred to just like that of the *Porāṇas*. Yet the former is quoted here as a source independent and different from the latter; the former is thus clearly not the same as the latter. There-

fore, the opinion identifying these two sources as identical, proposed by Adikaram and followed by Lottermoser, cannot be accepted. Incidentally, Adikaram inferred this view on the basis of the above passage in the *Visuddhimagga*, stating that "Both these verses are on the same topic and the manner, too, in which Buddhaghosa has quoted them, gives us the impression that he is drawing his material from the same source."⁽²⁵⁾ However, if Buddhaghosa had drawn his material from the same source, he would have referred to these two sources with the one and same name. But as he in fact indicated them with different names in the same passage on a particular topic, these sources must surely differ from one another, although their possible close relation cannot be denied.

Many compound words beginning with "pubbācariya-" are found in the prefaces of some Aṭṭhakathās:

Sp I-1,	(pubbācariyānubhāvaṃ, pubbācariyāsabhehi)
Kkh p.1	(pubbācariyasīhānaṃ)
Kkp-a p.11	(pubbācariyanicchayo)
Ud-a p.2	(pubbācariyasīhānaṃ)
It-a I-2	(pubbācariyasīhānaṃ)
Th-a I-1	(pubbācariyasīhānaṃ)
Cp-a p.1	(pubbācariyasīhānaṃ)

The name "pubbācariya" in these compounds does not indicate any proper individual or group of former teachers, but merely refers to "former teacher(s)" as a general category. Consequently, the Pubbācariyas cannot in this case be regarded as constituting a particular source authority for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās under discussion.⁽²⁶⁾

Māgandiyasuttupatti

The following is Lottermoser's explanation on this material:

"māgandiyasuttupattiyāṃ (the origin of the Māgandiyasutta"; cf. CPD s.v. *uppatti*) (Vm 105=Mp I 436). We see in Pj II, that it was a commentarial convention to describe the 'origin'—i.e. the occasion for the preaching—of important Suttas in a story. The 'source reference' occurs at Vm 105², and the '*uppatti*' of the Māgandiyasutta as given in the commentary on this Sutta in Pj II 542³⁰–544¹⁹ actually contains the Verse Passages (=VP) concerned. This turns the parallel listed in the Concordance of Verse Passages (=CVP, Pj II 544) into a source reference supported by a context

reference. However, we cannot assign a pre-Buddhaghosa date to Pj II on the strength of a single reference. It is likely that the Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā (=+SAK, Gāthā), on which Pj II is based, already featured this Verse Passage.

"Mp I 435⁷–437²⁴ contains the story of Māgandiyā as part of a longer narrative dealing with the outstanding female disciples *Sāmāvatī* and *Khujjuttarā*. Pj II, therefore, contains the oldest version of this story. Its sources may have been used by both Mp and Vm."

The above view of Lottermoser can be agreed with partially, but not entirely. Furthermore, the sources concerned that she found and investigated are not exhaustive. This topic should be restudied from the beginning.

In the *Visuddhimagga* (p.105), we find the following passage:

Vuttam pi c'etaṃ Māgandiyasuttupattiyāṃ:

Rattassa hi ukkuṭikaṃ padaṃ bhava,
duṭṭhassa hoti anukaḍḍhitāṃ padaṃ,
mūḷhassa hoti⁽²⁷⁾ sahasānupīḷitaṃ,
vivaṭṭacchadass' idam īdisaṃ padan ti.

Our question is now narrowed down: What is the above Māgandiyasuttupatti? And, is it a source reference for the Pāli commentaries or not?

Regarding the text named *Māgandiyasutta*, we can see two sorts in the extant Pāli literature: one is a sutta in the *Majjhimanikāya*,⁽²⁸⁾ and the other is a sutta in the *Suttanipāta*.⁽²⁹⁾ These two texts are entirely different, and only the latter is related to our present discussion. The *Paramatthajotikā* II, a *Suttanipāta* commentary in Pāli, contains an *uppatti* (origin or derivation) as the introduction of a sutta, not only for the *Māgandiyasutta* under discussion, but also for all the other suttas except for those in the Pārāyanavagga, the last chapter of the text.⁽³⁰⁾ In addition, many of the verses of Sn have *uppatti* of their own in the commentary. Thus the *uppatti* as an introductory story stating the derivation of a sutta or a verse is very common only in Pj II.⁽³¹⁾

The verse in question can be seen in the *uppatti* of the *Māgandiyasutta* in Pj II, just as Lottermoser pointed out. This *uppatti* tells a story of Māgandiyā, a Brahmin of Kāmmāsadhamma in Kuru country, and of his very beautiful daughter. Māgandiyā wanted to offer her to the Buddha as his wife, but the Buddha did not give any answer to his proposal and preached this sutta

in verse. Incidentally, the Chinese version of the *Arthapadasūtra* (義足經) corresponds to the *Aṭṭhakavagga* in Sn. It contains a sūtra identical with the *Māgandiyasutta*, namely the 摩因提女經第九.⁽³²⁾ This sūtra has an introductory story to the verse passage, which is very similar but not exactly the same as the above *uppatti* of the *Māgandiyasutta*. With reference to the original text of this Chinese translation, Prof. Bapat considered it as neither a Pāli nor a Sanskrit text but rather a Prākṛit one,⁽³³⁾ whereas Prof. Mizuno suggested it was a Pāli or some Prākṛit text very close to the Pāli text; he further suggested that it may have been a Pāli text of the Abhayagiri-vihāra fraternity, which must have been quite closely related to the present Pāli text of the Mahāvihāra fraternity.⁽³⁴⁾ I personally surmise that it might have been the source material of Pj II or a certain text very close to it. This matter, of course, should be studied further.

In any case, the introductory story of the *Māgandiyasutta* is also seen both in *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā*. The former commentary has two stories: one is included in the Udena-vatthu and the other in the Māgandiyā-vatthu. These two passages, which equally have the verse under consideration, are very similar but not perfectly identical. Both of them are clearly more developed than the corresponding passages in Pj II and the Chinese *Arthapadasūtra* as well. The parallel parts of these two stories and that of Pj II are similar but not identical with each other. Both stories of Dha-a have sequels to the above original parts, but the two sequels do not concord with one another. The version in the Udena-vatthu contains a story relating to Māgandiyā, the beautiful daughter of the Brahmin Māgandiyā (her name is given here for the first time). The story goes: after having been rejected by the Buddha as his wife, she was welcomed by King Udena of Kosambī as one of his three chief consorts. In hatred of the Buddha who did not accept her as his wife, and of Sāmāvatī, her rival consort who was a faithful believer of the Buddha, Māgandiyā tried several times to entrap them by plots. Sāmāvatī was finally killed by her, and she herself was punished by being put to death by the king.

Mp also has a basic story which contains the verse under discussion, and its sequel; but they are not the same as any other corresponding stories. However, they are comparatively similar with those of the Udena-vatthu in Dhp-a already mentioned. It is to be noted that Vim (p.381) records, as an instance of *samādhivipphāra-iddhi*, another short story concerning Māgandiyā

and his daughter. Here it is not Māgandiyā, but her father, Māgandiyā, who intended to entrap Sāmāvatī. Māgandiyā, who desired to have his daughter become the first consort of King Udena by replacing Sāmāvatī, plotted to put a poisonous snake into Sāmāvatī's lute (viṇā) while lying to the king that Sāmāvatī put the snake there in order to assassinate the king. However, in Dhp-a (I-215) and Mp (I-442), the person who concealed the snake in the lute (of the king) was not Māgandiyā, the father, but the daughter herself. In addition, other descriptions about this plot also differ from what are found in the other stories. Accordingly, we have to conclude that the above story in Vim was derived from neither Dhp-a nor Mp, but from some other source.⁽³⁵⁾

I have checked all references to the names of Pāli commentaries in the Pāli commentaries themselves, summarizing my results in the form of table.⁽³⁶⁾ It shows that Pj II refers to the names of Vim altogether five times, while the latter does not refer to the former at all.⁽³⁷⁾ This indicates that Vim was written earlier than Pj II. If so, it is clear that the *uppatti* of the *Māgandiyasutta* referred to in Vim was not derived from the present *Paramatthajotikā* II in Pāli, but from some source material for the Pāli text. That source material must have been identical with the original text of the Chinese version of the *Arthapadasūtra* discussed already, or at least quite close to it. The Māgandiyā story referred to in Vim as an example of *samādhivipphāra-iddhi*, which differs from any corresponding stories in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās, and may also derive from the same source material which is now lost.

Generally speaking, the *Paramatthajotikā* II was composed mainly based on its *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*; in other words, it is a revised and rearranged Pāli translation of its source commentary in old Sinhalese. Many of the Pāli commentaries refer to their own basic source commentaries in Sinhalese, which are usually referred to just as the "aṭṭhakathā" in the singular form (with no particular name prefixed) in each Pāli commentary.⁽³⁸⁾ We can find the same situation regarding Pj II (p.180). The passage in question, which is a part of the commentary on verse No.127 of Sn, goes as follows:

Yo katvā ti Aṭṭhakathāya māyāpubbabbhāgā pāpicchatā vuttā,...

It is obvious that what is being commented upon in this passage is not a single word, but the two-word phrase *yo katvā*, which can properly be commented upon only in a particular given context. Consequently, the

fundamental source material of the Pāli commentary, the "Aṭṭhakathā" referred to which comments on this phrase must be a commentary on the *Suttanipāta* verse, i.e., the lost *Sihalaṭṭhakathā*.

To sum up, the *Māgandiyasuttupatti*, a verse of which is referred to in the *Visuddhimagga*, does not correspond to the text of that name included in the present Pj II, but perhaps it does the one included in the old *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* on the *Suttanipāta*. It should be regarded as having been part of the source commentary on the above sutta.

The **Abbreviations** are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pali Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1924-48. In addition: B^e=Burmese Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana edition. **References to Pāli texts** refer to PTS editions unless otherwise specified.

- (1) I.e., the Pāli commentaries on the scriptures of the Pāli Canon, also referred to as the (Pāli) Aṭṭhakathās or Pāli commentaries.
- (2) Friedgard Lottermoser: *Quoted Verse Passages in the works of Buddhaghosa: contributions towards the study of the lost Sihalaṭṭhakathā literature*. Göttingen, 1982, XXVIII+631pp.
Cf. a review of this work by Sodō Mori in: *Bukkyō Kenkyū (Buddhist Studies)* Vol. XV, Hamamatsu: International Buddhist Association, 1985, pp.125-143.
- (3) Sodō Mori: *Pali Bukkyō Chūshaku-bunken no Kenkyū: Aṭṭhakathā no Jyōzabuteki-yōsō (A Study of the Pali Commentaries: Theravādic aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās)*. Tokyo: Sankibō-busshorin, 1984, 20+6+viii+8+718pp. (in Japanese with English summary and table of contents).
- (4) F. Lottermoser: *op.cit.* p.216f.
- (5) S. Mori: *op.cit.* pp.75-307.
- (6) W. Rahula: "The Significance of 'Ariyavaṃsa'", *University of Ceylon Review* Vol.I, No.1, April 1943, pp.59-68.
W. Rahula: *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Colombo, 1956, pp.268-273.
- (7) S. Mori: *op.cit.* pp.430-456.
- (8) E. W. Adikaram: *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Colombo, 1953, p.15.
- (9) E.g.: Ācariyavādo nāma dhammasaṅgāhakehi pañcahi arahantasatehi ṭhapitā pāli-vinimuttā okkantikavinicchayappavattā aṭṭhakathā-tanti. (Sp I-231); Ācariyavādo nāma Aṭṭhakathā. (Sv II-567); Yadi pi tattha tattha Bhagavatā pavattitā pakiṇṇakadesanā va aṭṭhakathā. Sā pana dhammasaṅgāhakehi paṭhamam tīpi piṭākāni saṅgāyitvā tassa atthavaṇṇanānurūpen'eva vācanāmaggaṃ āropitattā acariyavādo ti vuccati, ācariyā vadanti saṃvannenti pāliṃ etenāti. Tenāha

acariyavādo nāma aṭṭhakathā ti. (Sv-ṭ II-217)

- (10) As to the Aṭṭhakathācariyas, see the following article by S. Mori: "Aṭṭhakathācariyas and Aṭṭhakathikas", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. XXXI, No.2, Tokyo, March 1983, pp.(1)-(7).
- (11) p.233: Aṭṭhakathāmuttako ekassa ācariyassa mativinicchayo. Cf. Vism I-99 (ācariya-matika).
- (12) Spk II-267.
- (13) Kōgen Mizuno: "The List of the Gāthās of the Pāli Tipiṭaka(I)", *Buddhist Studies*, Vol. VII, Hamamatsu, February 1978, p.181.
- (14) SN III-37.
- (15) Spk II-267.
- (16) S. Mori: *op.cit.* (n.3) pp.111-128. Cf. S. Mori: "Uttaravīhāraṭṭhakathā and Sārasamāsa: some concealed non-Mahāvīhāravāsins' sources for the Pāli commentaries", contributed to the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, Vol. XII, London, 1988 (proposed publication date).
- (17) Spk-ṭ II-218, before I.8.
- (18) For the English translation, cf. I.B. Horner: *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning* (tr. of Bv-a). PTS, 1978, p.388f.
- (19) As(B^e) p.75 II.12ff.; Ja I-44f.; Ap-a p.49; Cp-a p.330; Bv-a p.271f.
- (20) As(B^e) pp.33(I.7)-75(I.12); Ja I-2-47; Ap-a pp.2-52. The As of the PTS edition lacks on p.32 all the passages corresponding to the same text of the B^e edition and to the Dūrenidāna chapters of the Ja and Ap-a mentioned above.
- (21) Kv p.400f.
- (22) AN III-441-45; V-1-14.
- (23) Vism II-522f.; Vibh-a pp.130f. These two passages are identical not only with the passage quoted, but also with those which precede and follow.
- (24) S. Mori: *op.cit.* (n.3) pp.241-270.
- (25) E.W. Adikaram: *op.cit.* p.21.
- (26) S. Mori: *op.cit.* (n.3) pp.283-285.
- (27) The original word "padaṃ" is changed to "hoti", based on Vism of the HOS edition (I-85). Cf. Dhpa I-201, III-195; Mp I-436.
- (28) MN. I-501-513: the *Māgandiyasuttanta*. This basically corresponds to the 讚閑提經 in the Chinese Mādhyāgama(Taishō Vol. I, p.670a).
- (29) Sn pp.163-166(vs.835-847): the *Māgandiyasutta* in the Aṭṭhakavagga.
- (30) In the commentary of the Pārāyanavagga, only the Tissametteyyasuttavaṇṇanā (V, 2) has the *uppatti* (p.588).
- (31) Other examples of the *uppatti* are in Pv-a p.144, p.215; It-a I-71; etc.
- (32) Taishō, Vol.4, p.180ab.
- (33) P.V. Bapat: *The Arthapada Sūtra*, 2 pts, Calcutta, 1951: Introd. (in pt.2) p.13; p.19.

- (34) K. Mizuno: "On the *Arthapada Sūtra*" (in Japanese), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*) Vol. I, No.1, Tokyo, 1952, p.92. Cf. K. Minami: "義足經 and Aṭṭhakavagga" (in Japanese), *Bukkyōshigaku-kenkyū* (*Journal of Studies in Buddhist History*) Vol.29, No.1, Kyoto, 1986, pp.1-16.
- (35) Although Vism and Mp are both regarded as works of Buddhaghosa, these two record quite different and contradictory stories about the same persons. This raises a new problem concerning his authorship, which has yet to be finally set to rest.
- (36) S. Mori: *op.cit.* (n.3) p.100.
- (37) Pj II pp.246, 248 (twice), 249, 444. Besides these references, this text also refers to Ps once (p.300) and As twice (pp.120, 128).
- (38) S. Mori: *op.cit.* (n.3) pp.207-222.

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Ariyavaṃsa and Ariyavaṃsa-kathā

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(1)

Several years ago, a comprehensive study on the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature¹⁾ conducted by Dr. Friedgard Lottermoser was published.²⁾ I reviewed it in English³⁾ comparing it with my own work on the same subject.⁴⁾ Lottermoser's book referred to above is a fundamental research of the 'Sihaḷa Sources' or 'lost Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā literature' for the Pāli commentaries composed by Buddhaghosa (the first half of 5 c. A. D.) and other commentators, which is based upon a thorough investigation on all the verse passages in the texts, specifically in Buddhaghosa's works. Although her achievement is indeed quite remarkable, there still remain many unsolved problems and new questions have been raised. As one of various matters to be considered further, Lottermoser lists the following six kinds of 'vague source reference in the prose context':⁵⁾

1. Ariyavaṃsa (the lineage of the noble ones)
2. Ācariyagāthā (the verse of a teacher)
3. Ācariyaparamparā (the lineage of teachers)
4. Ānisaṃsakathā (talk on profits)
5. Pubbācariyehi (by the former teachers)
6. Māgandiyasuttuppattiyam (the origin of the Māgandiyasutta)

The majority of these six references are not mentioned even in part I, the relevant section of my book which contains discourses on a total of thirty-five sources for the Pāli commentarial texts.⁶⁾ Therefore I examined each of the six and wrote an English article on the four 'source references' excluding the first and third ones. As regards these two omitted items, the third is not a reference to a source at all, but an indication of a topic to be investigated, as stated by Lottermoser herself. I have treated this topic in detail elsewhere.⁷⁾ The first item, 'Ariyavaṃsa' contains many aspects requiring careful and thorough examination calling for ample time. Another independent article is really necessary. This being the case, I have given this item fresh consideration and would like to examine it in some depth in the present paper, together with the 'Ariyavaṃsa-kathā', a different source with a similar name, which has been newly discovered during my research.

Concerning the Ariyavaṃsa, all that is stated by Lottermoser is as follows:

- (1) "*ariyavaṃsa* (the lineage of the noble ones)"

(Sp 1016 (1)=Mp III 56). This source is discussed by Rahula (1943) (see fn. 26).

As is clear from the above statement, Lottermoser did not devote any discussion to the Ariyavaṃsa but just referred to Dr. W. Rahula's study.⁸⁾ In fact his study is practically the only detailed discussion available on this topic: no better research than this has been published so far.⁹⁾ His study begins with a criticism of the earlier view of Dr. S. Paranavitana. Rahula states that the word Ariyavaṃsa has been used in three ways: (1) a *sutta* bearing that name, (2) the preaching of 'it (*desanā*), (3) the practising of the teaching given in that *sutta*; and he discusses these aspects based on various texts and inscriptions. He also mentions that the assembly for preaching the Ariyavaṃsa became a very popular large-scale festival of Buddhism in ancient Sri Lanka. His research is not adequate, however, and leaves plenty of room for further investigation particularly concerning the historical changes in the meaning and content of the Ariyavaṃsa. To my knowledge, we are able to find in the canon the word, 'Ariyavaṃsa', but not 'Ariyavaṃsa-sutta', and furthermore we are unable to find the Ariyavaṃsa as the title of an independent *sutta* in the present canon. The name of the Ariyavaṃsa-sutta appears for the first time in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. This fact leads us to consider the Ariyavaṃsa as source material for the Aṭṭhakathās, which fact was merely hinted at by Lottermoser by listing it as a 'vague source reference' as stated before. I will therefore examine in some depth various aspects of the Ariyavaṃsa, especially its characteristics as a source reference, and I will do so by making use of some Chinese texts in the northern tradition which have not been taken up by Rahula.

7 (2)

With respect to the Ariyavaṃsa found in the Pāli canon, it can be seen in at least five (or six) *suttas*, i.e. the *Digha*, *Aṅguttara*, *Jātaka*, *Mahaniddesa* and *Paṭisambhidamagga* (plus *Cūḷaniddesa*).¹⁰⁾ The contents of the Ariyavaṃsa in these texts are all the so-called 'cattāro ariyavaṃsā'.¹¹⁾ Yet they are not identical, but are further divided into the following two sorts:

(1) teachings warning not to be avaricious with regards to the four necessities of life, i.e. clothing (*civara*), food (*piṇḍapāta*), dwelling (*senāsana*) and medicine (*gilānapaccayabhesajja*). They are found in the above MNd, and will hereafter be referred to as Type A.

(2) teachings warning against avarice in relation to the first three requisites as shown above, and in addition a teaching about pleasure in self-cultivation and in self-abandonment through meditation (*bhāvanārama*, *pahānārama*). This replaces medicine as the fourth item. These teachings are given in the above DN and AN, and will hereafter be referred to as Type B.

Discrimination between Types A and B also appears in Chinese texts: the four items mentioned in the *Shūjū-kyō* (*Chun-chi-ching*) of the *Dirghāgama-sūtra* and the

Binibo-kyō (*P'i-ni-mu-ching*) of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* are Type A,¹²⁾ while on the other hand those in the *Sessho-kyō* (*Shuo-ch'u-ching*) of the *Madhyamāgama-sūtra*, the *Shūimon-sokuron* (*Chi-i-mên-tsu-lun*), *Hōun-sokuron* (*Fa-yün-tsu-lun*), *Honrui-sokuron* (*P'in-lei-tsu-lun*), *Daibibasha-ron* (*Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*), *Kanromi-ron* (*Kan-lu-wei-lun*), *Kusha-ron* (*Chū-shē-lun*), *Junshōri-ron* (*Shun-chêng-li-lun*) are all Type B.¹³⁾ In this connection, according to the *Abhidharmakośa* the Sanskrit original words for Type B are: *civara*, *piṇḍapāta*, *śayanāsana* and *pahānabhāvanārāmata*.¹⁴⁾ In the final explanations for each of the four items of the Ariyavaṃsa appearing in the Pāli texts (the above DN, AN, MNd), the following stereo-typed passages are repeated:

"Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave (bhikkhu, āvuso or no such a word) porāṇe aggaṇṇe ariyavaṃse ṭhito."

Concerning the original it is interesting to find certain corresponding sentences in some of the Chinese texts referred to above, e.g. the *Shūjū-kyō*, *Sessho-kyō*, *Shūimon-sokuron* and *Hōun-sokuron*. Such textual evidence suggests that the above mentioned stereo-typed expression had been composed at a fairly early period in the Buddhist history of India and transmitted into different schools.

As to the derivation and relation of the two types of the Ariyavaṃsa, the four items of Type A, i.e. the three living necessities (clothing, food and dwelling) plus medicine are none other than the so-called four resources of bhikkhu (*cattāro nissaya*, *cattāro paccayā*). However, only the first three are really the absolute essential requisites for human life. Although medicine is of course a very important material, it is still unnecessary while healthy, and even for sick persons no extra amount or higher quality of medicine is needed beyond that necessary for a return to good health. On this point then, it would be contradictory to stress on the same degree of importance for medicine as for clothing, food and dwelling. Moreover Buddhist practice cannot be complete simply by adhering to these aspects. For the above reason, positive practices such as pleasing in self-cultivation and abandonment through meditation, could at times have been exchanged for the practice of restricting medicine to a minimum. I imagine that the Ariyavaṃsa of Type B was formed in this way.

In spite of such situations, it was nevertheless impossible to deny Type A entirely and to alter it into Type B, partly because of its relation to the teachings of the four nissayas already explained. Then at least in Theravāda Buddhism in later times, they expounded that medicine was to be included as an item of food, or the two types were combined to form the 'Mahā-ariyavaṃsa' (Large Ariyavaṃsa) which therefore consisted of five items. I will make further points on this later in the present paper.

(3)

Let us now proceed to the investigation of many aspects of the Ariyavaṃsa

found in later Pāli literature, e. g. the *Aṭṭhakathā*s, chronicles, narratives, etc. : the so-called *Aṭṭhakathā* literature in the broader sense. First of all, how are the passages commenting upon the Ariyavaṃsa appeared in the five suttas discussed earlier i. e. the *Dīgha*, *Aṅguttara*, *Mahāniddesa*, *Jātaka* and *Paṭisambhidaṃmagga*? In the case of the commentaries upon the DN, AN and MNd (except for the J and Pts),¹⁶⁵ their corresponding passages are essentially identical with the exception of the fourth item of the Ariyavaṃsa. With regard to the fourth, as explained before, the DN and AN show Type B, whereas the MNd shows Type A, hence the commenting sentences both in the DA and AA differ from that in the MNdA. Nevertheless a common textual tendency can be seen throughout the passages in question in those three commentarial works. In particular the corresponding passages in the DA and AA are almost identical.¹⁶⁷

To take up the case of the DA, it starts with a detailed explanation on the word, Ariyavaṃsa itself, which is followed by verbatim comments on the original passages of the DN. Its annotation is comparatively rudimentary as Abhidhammic method : it gives equivalents to commented words or simply paraphrases original phrases. Such elementary comments are most probably based upon the older *Aṭṭhakathā* which originated in India.¹⁷² While on the other hand, we are able to find some detailed narrative stories and references to certain later persons and later texts, which must have been inserted into these basic comments. That is to say, in the portion on the Ariyavaṃsa, several passages have been added : a story of an elder residing in the Cetiyaṃpabbatavihāra ; a view of the well-known eminent Mahāśivathera ;¹⁸⁹ and references to Dhammasenāpati Sāriputtatthera of India and to the *Visuddhimagga* (three times). It is clear that at least most of them were added later in Sri Lanka. Such insertions have increased the size of the passage regarding the Ariyavaṃsa quite considerably. In the case of the DA, it amounts to ten pages in total, although the commented passages of the DN is only a little more than a single page (34 lines to be exact). Comparing the commenting part with the commented part, we are compelled to conclude that the scale of expansion of the former is very unusual. From this angle, we can judge that the Ariyavaṃsa gradually obtained people's interest and became highly esteemed as time went on.

Furthermore we must pay attention to the following fact existing in the part of the Ariyavaṃsa of the DA and the AA : they give Type B as to the four items, and thereby medicine is not taken up here as the fourth. According to the four nissayas (or paccayas), however, the fourth should definitely be the item of medicine. Having some doubts about this, the composer of the old *Aṭṭhakathā* purposely made a reference to 'medicine' which was not found at all in the commented original. It is mentioned as follows :

"Gilāna-paccayo pana piṇḍapāte yeva pavitṭho."¹⁹¹

(The requisite of medicine is regarded as a kind of food.)

Even though medicine and food can be seen as something in common in that

they are both taken orally, nevertheless medicine is still medicine, and not a sort of food. The above interpretation therefore cannot as yet be considered a satisfactory explanation concerning the lack of medicine as the fourth. I think that the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa which consists of the five items was newly adopted in order to resolve this difficulty.

Let me now discuss the matter of the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa. As I have briefly mentioned, the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa is the larger ariyavaṃsa which contains the five items ; the result of uniting Type A and Type B. This can be seen from the following three similar expressions :

(1) catupaccasantosabhāvanārāma-mahā-ariyavaṃsa (AA II, 249)

(2) catupaccayasantosabhāvanārāma-paṭimaṇḍitaṃ mahā-ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadam (AA I, 192)

(3) catupaccayasantosa-bhāvanārāmatāḍipakaṃ mahā-ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadam (Vis I, 93)

Strictly speaking the above expressions do not all include 'pahānārāma' (half of the fourth item of Type B). Nevertheless as the above obviously contains the five items, the result of combining Types A and B : it can be assumed that the pahānārāma is included here. In spite of the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa being the extended Ariyavaṃsa as discussed above, the two are not necessarily strictly differentiated : in fact it is said that the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa was often simply called the Ariyavaṃsa. However, I am more inclined to think that ever since a certain later period in ancient Sri Lanka, the name of the Ariyavaṃsa was generally adopted to mean the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa with the five items, and then the original Ariyavaṃsa of the four items was then forgotten. As a result of this it then became unnecessary to discriminate between these two. Because I think it rather difficult to assume that once the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa of the five items began to be popular, the original Ariyavaṃsa of either Type A or Type B was still being preached by persons who held fast to its old content.²⁰¹

We are able to see in the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts the name of the 'Ariyavaṃsa-sutta' or the 'Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-sutta', a name which appears neither in any text of the Pāli canon nor in the list of titles of the canon.²¹¹ This is perhaps an indication of the developmental process of this sutta, showing that many additions and revisions were gradually made to the original minor part discussing the Ariyavaṃsa in a sutta, which finally formed an independent sutta both in quality and in quantity. One example of such an addition is the following story of Nāgattthera and Nāgatttheri.²²¹ During the crisis caused by Brāhmaṇa-Tissa (or Caṇḍāla-Tissa) between 102 and 89 B. C., i. e. the interregnum of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi who enthroned himself twice in Sri Lanka (a serious famine also happened at that time),²²¹ Nāgattthera visited his sister, Nāgatttheri who was living in Bhātava Village. The sister intended to offer a meal which she had gained through alms, but the younger brother, afraid that it would be his own burden in mind on the occasion of preaching the Ariyavaṃsa

after this famine has once been over, refused the meal. From this story, it can be considered that the Ariyavaṃsa in those days already contained the teaching that a bhikkhu should not accept meals from a bhikkhuni. Such a minute discipline as this had not been probably included in the earliest Ariyavaṃsa, i. e. the Ariyavaṃsa in the canon.

In any case, the (Mahā-)Ariyavaṃsa-sutta became highly valued in the course of time, and at long last there appeared a specialist who recited and expounded the text of this sutta for transmission. He is none other than the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-bhāṇakatthera whose view is quoted in the SA (III, 182). A Bhāṇaka was initially the specialist in recitation for transmission of particular suttas, whereas later his task, as the expert on a respective sutta, was not limited to repeating the text from memory, but extended to discussing its content. The Bhāṇakas whose names are known to us through the Aṭṭhakathā texts are as below: the major figures are the Bhāṇakas of the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Saṃyutta*, *Āṅguttara*, *Jātaka*, and *Dhammapada*; and those minor figures are the Bhāṇakas of the *Ubhato-vibhaṅga* in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the *Mahacattāṭṭhaka*, *Ariyavāsa* and also *Mahā-ariyavaṃsa* now in question.²⁴¹

In any case, the appearance of the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-bhāṇaka as a specialist would fully prove the fact that this (Mahā-)Ariyavaṃsa-sutta developed into an important independent text.

The 'Ariyavaṃsika', a similar name to the (Mahā-)Ariyavaṃsa-bhāṇaka occurs in the identical passages of the DA (II, 524) and the AA (IV, 17). These passages describe that when there were many cases of transgressors of precepts during the rainy retreat season for practice and study, the Order made the Ariyavaṃsikas preach the Ariyavaṃsa on the last day of it. The above statement also testifies that the bhikkhus as specialists on the Ariyavaṃsa definitely existed in the Order, and that they performed their duty on request. We are then justified in regarding the (Mahā-)Ariyavaṃsa-bhāṇaka and the Ariyavaṃsika as equivalents.²⁴²

(4)

The next topic concerns the social aspects about the (Mahā-)Ariyavaṃsa-sutta in the Buddhist community of ancient Sri Lanka. Its main topic relates to the assembly or festival for preaching the Ariyavaṃsa, which Rahula has already discussed in considerable detail.

I would like to examine various materials in chronological order. The earliest statement so far datable exists in the AA (II, 249).²⁴³ It is a story that a woman living in Ullabhakolakaṇṇika took her baby and travelled a distance of five *yojanas* (about 35 miles) in order to listen to a sermon on the Ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadā delivered by Dighabhāṇaka-Mahā-Abhayatthera who is regarded to have been alive between the end of the 2nd century B. C. and the first half of the 1st century B. C.²⁴⁴ The date of this story coincides with that of Nāgattthera mentioned before. From this

story, the following two points can be concluded: (1) the Ariyavaṃsa-sutta itself and also the assembly for preaching this sutta became so popular that even a lady follower attended the assembly; also (2) the teaching was never so difficult as to be within the comprehension of elders, i. e. specialists only, nor was it useful to them only. In this connection, the *Daibibasha-ron* of the Sarvāstivāda School²⁴⁵ contains very long Abhidhammic arguments on the Ariyavaṃsa, which are quite probably intended for the comprehension of elder experts only. On the contrary, the Ariyavaṃsa for Sri Lankan Buddhists must not have been like this, but rather a very practical text, familiar even to beginning lay-Buddhists.

The second earliest mention is made in the *Mahavaṃsa*. Chapter 36 of this chronicle²⁴⁶ describes that King Vohārika Tissa (reigning: A. D. 214-236) gave continuous donations to wherever the Ariyavaṃsa was preached throughout the island of Sri Lanka. This statement proves that the Ariyavaṃsa assembly was extensively held all over the country in the reign of this king, and also that the king himself promoted this event by means of financial support. The *Visuddhimagga* (I, 66) also relates a story that once upon a time in a village an Ariyavaṃsa assembly was in session, in which a sincere bhikkhu who always lived only on food from begging took part even though his friends were absent. In spite of the fact that the exact date of this story is uncertain,²⁴⁷ it confirms that this assembly at that time was so popular that it was held even in remote country places. According to Rahula,²⁴⁸ moreover, the *Rasavahini* includes three stories concerning the Ariyavaṃsa. He has also researched the frequency and dates of the Ariyavaṃsa assembly or festival, and has concluded that although they were not necessarily fixed,²⁴⁹ it was generally held during the rainy retreat season of the Order (June-October).²⁵⁰ There are records that it was held once a year: one record gives it as being held on the last day of the rainy retreat period, while another says it was on the twelfth day (near the full-moon) of the Nikiṇi Month (the month starting from the middle of August) in that period. Other accounts state twice a year; or even twice a month on the Uposatha days in the retreat period. Even outside of the rainy retreat season, optional assemblies seem to have been occasionally held.

Today we are unable to know why or when the (Mahā-)Ariyavaṃsa-sutta and the assembly or festival connected with it which had been so prosperous ceased to exist. There are almost no traces left of this sutta or even of its assembly in present day Sri Lanka. Rahula reported that a book of the Ariyavaṃsa-sutta with its commentary in Pāli and an old Sanne (paraphrase) on it in Sinhalese was published in Colombo in 1898.²⁵¹ This work is likely to be the same as the Sinhalese Sanne on the Ariyavaṃsa-sutta written by Bāminivatte Unnāṇse, which is referred to in a book entitled the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* published in 1916. Its author is Āyit-tāliyadde Muhandirama who lived in Kandy in the reign of King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha, i. e. 1747-1780. However, no one can, at present, describe the content of this extant Ariyavaṃsa-sutta, or say whether or not it bears any close relation or similarity to

that of the ancient Ariyavaṃsa-sutta under consideration in this paper.

(5)

In this section the discussion centres on the 'Ariyavaṃsa-kathā' which, in spite of having a very similar name to the 'Ariyavaṃsa' already mentioned, can be concluded to be different material. Just like the Ariyavaṃsa itself, the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā is one kind of "Sihaḷa Source" for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts, to which kind no one has paid any particular attention.

To my knowledge, the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā appears only in Chapter 20, the Maggāmagga-nāṇadassana-visuddhiniddesa in the *Visuddhimagga* (II, 626 f.). This chapter is part of the section discussing the matter of *pañña* (wisdom) in the above work, the composition of which is based wholly upon the system of the three *sikkhas*, i. e. *śīla*, *saṃādhi* and *pañña*. That is to say, it is one of the five chapters (chaps. 18-22) which treat the 'paññāya sarira' (trunk of wisdom) as the third topic of the 'theory of how to practise the pañña sikkhā'. In this chapter, profound or superficial wisdom of varying levels and a great deal of methodology on how to obtain them are expounded in detail. As part of it, there is a full exposition of the method of comprehending "formations" (*saṅkhārā*) by attributing the three characteristics (*anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta*) to them by means of the *rūpa-sattaka* (material septad) as well as the *arūpa-sattaka* (immaterial septad).

The quotations from the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā (discourse on the noble ones' heritage) now in question can be seen in the passage explaining the way of the arūpa-sattaka. The Ariyavaṃsa-kathā is referred to in comparison with the 'Visuddhi-kathā' (discourse on purification). The arūpa-sattaka is as follows: (1) by groups, (2) by pairs, (3) by moments, (4) by series, (5) by removal of [false] view, (6) by abolition of conceit, (7) by ending of attachment. Of the above seven cases, both in the first and seventh, the method mentioned in the Visuddhi-kathā is described first, and then the method in the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā is cited. In the first case, moreover, it is stated that the method according to the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā is better than that according to the Visuddhi-kathā, and therefore the former is also taken up in all the other cases. In this manner the method of the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā is extensively adopted throughout all the seven methods of the arūpa-sattaka.

Certain questions remain unanswered, such as, what really are the Visuddhi-kathā and the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā both quoted here in the Vis?; and what is the original material for them?; nor have we any clues towards solving the mystery as to whether these two were independent sources or parts of a certain large original source. Yet it should be obvious at least that these two 'kathās' could never have been derived from the *Vimuttimaggā* of the Abhayagiri fraternity in the Theravāda School, which text is surely one of the major sources for the *Visuddhimagga*, though no clear reference to the Vim is specifically made in the Vis. Because the *Vimutti-*

magga includes no quotation from nor any reference to the two 'kathās'. We are compelled, from the above, to conclude that they were two kinds (or two parts) of the Old Sihaḷa Source of the Mahāvihāra fraternity. This conclusion can be strengthened by a textual evidence that Buddhaghosa, the author of the Vis who belonged to the Mahāvihāra gives positive quotations from the two 'kathās', especially from the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā as stated before.

Although no further details are known,³⁵ the following point is clear to say the least: judging from the quoted views of the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā, it is *not* the same as the Ariyavaṃsa-sutta teaching of the Ariyavaṃsa with four items nor as the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-sutta teaching with five items as the enlarged later text. Consequently the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā under discussion, together with the Visuddhi-kathā, is most likely to another kind of Sihaḷa Source for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās than the (Mahā-) Ariyavaṃsa-sutta.

Incidentally Rev. Nyānamoli comments in his English translation of the 'Vis' as follows:³⁶

"The 'Discourse on Purification (visuddhi-katha)' and the 'Discourse on the Noble Ones' Heritages (ariyavaṃsa-kathā)' are presumably names of chapters in Old Sinhalese commentaries no longer extant."

His conjecture as stated above, however, is not founded in thorough investigation; in particular there is no evidence at all for his opinion that the coupled 'kathās' are names of chapters in the Old Sinhalese commentaries. Notwithstanding, it cannot be denied that these 'kathās' are some kinds of the Sihaḷa source reference for the Aṭṭhakathā literature: this is in reality the sole possible conclusion.

(6)

To conclude, I would like to sum up as follows:

(1) The Ariyavaṃsa was originally *not* an independent sutta, because the name of this sutta cannot be found either in any text of the Pāli canon, or in the list of all the suttas.

(2) The Ariyavaṃsa in the Pāli canon always means the 'Cattāro Ariyavaṃsā' (the Ariyavaṃsa of the four items). It is divided into two types: Type A refers to the items of clothing, food, dwelling and medicine, while Type B refers to the first three above with the additional fourth item of 'pleasure in self-cultivation and self-abandonment through meditation'. Since these two types are differentiated in various Chinese versions of canon and later texts, it is therefore not a teaching peculiar to the Theravāda School only.

(3) In the Aṭṭhakathā texts, there appears the new Ariyavaṃsa consisting of five items as a joint system of the two types, which is generally named the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa.

(4) Buddhists in ancient Sri Lanka placed great importance upon the Ariyavaṃsa

and so enlarged and revised it adding abundantly to its content. As a result, the titles of the Ariyavaṃsa-sutta and Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-sutta occurred in the Aṭṭhakathās for the first time. This fact means that the Ariyavaṃsa developed into an independent text. This can also be proved by the fact that the name of the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-bhāpakatthera or the Ariyavaṃsika as a specialist for transmitting and expounding this sutta can be seen in the Aṭṭhakathās. However this is not a sutta listed in the canon, and therefore it should be regarded as one variety of the lost Sīhaḷa Sources for the Aṭṭhakathās.

(5) The (Mahā-)Ariyavaṃsa-sutta which became a valuable text both in terms of quality and quantity was often preached not only to elders but also to ordinary lay-believers at every place in Sri Lanka: the assembly or festival for teaching it became a big event in the Buddhist community. The event seems to have principally been held during the rainy retreat period on a particular day or days, but the frequency and dates it was held varied. The earliest story about the Ariyavaṃsa sermon can be traced back to around 100 B. C.

(6) It is unclear when and why the Ariyavaṃsa-sutta and its assembly declined. There is almost nothing left regarding them in Sri Lanka today.

(7) Another text called the Ariyavaṃsa-kathā, similar in name to the Ariyavaṃsa(-sutta) is quoted and referred to only in the *Visuddhimagga* during a comparison with the *Visuddhi-kathā*. Judging from its contents, however, it is not the same as the Ariyavaṃsa(-sutta), but one other kind of the Sīhaḷa source reference of the Mahāvihāra Order.

Abbreviations :

* References to Pāli texts refer to the Pāli Text Society's editions unless otherwise specified below.

AA	Aṅuttaraṭṭhakathā, Manorathapūraṇī
AN	Aṅuttaranikāya
CNd	Culla-Niddesa
CNdA	Culla-Niddesaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammapajjotikā
DA	Dighaṭṭhakathā, Sumaṅgalavilāsini
DN	Dighanikāya
J	Jātaka
Kośa	Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (ed. P. Pradhan, Patna 1967)
MA	Majjimaṭṭhakathā, Papañcasūdanī
Mhv	Mahāvaṃsa
MNd	Mahā-Niddesa
MNdA	Mahā-Niddesaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammapajjotikā
Pts	Paṭisambhiddamagga
PTS	Pāli Text Society
SA	Samyuttaṭṭhakathā, Sāratthappakāsini

Taishō	Taishō Edition of Chinese Buddhist Texts
VibhA	Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodanī
Vim	Vimuttimaggā (the original text is lost.)
Vis	Visuddhimaggā
VisT	Visuddhimaggaṭṭhikā, Paramatthamañjūsā (ed. B. N. Shukla, 3 vols. Varanasi 1969-71)

Notes :

- * I am grateful to Miss B. A. Scott, a British ex-Visiting Professor, Women's Junior College of Jōsai University, Japan, for having looked over my English in the present article.
- 1) This here refers to the *Visuddhimaggā* and the primary commentaries upon the Pāli canon, and is also called the (Pāli) Aṭṭhakathās, the Aṭṭhakathā texts, the (Pāli) commentaries, etc.
- 2) Friedgard Lottermoser: *Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa—contributions towards the study of the lost Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā literature—*, Göttingen 1982, xxviii + 631 pp.
- 3) The *Bukkyō Kenkyū* (*Buddhist Studies*) Vol. XV (Hamamatsu 1985) pp. 125-143.
- 4) S. Mori: *Pāli Bukkyō Chūshaku-bunken no Kenkyū—Aṭṭhakathā no Jyōzabuteki-yōsō* (*A Study of the Pāli Commentaries—Theravādic aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās—*), Tokyo 1984, 20+6+viii+8+718 pp. (in Japanese with English summary and table of contents).
- 5) Lottermoser: *op. cit.* (n. 2) p. 216 f.
- 6) Mori: *op. cit.* (n. 4) pp. 75-307.
- 7) S. Mori: "Some Minor Sources for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās—with reference to Lottermoser's study—", *Indological and Buddhist Studies—volume in honour of Professor J. Takasaki on his 60th birthday—*, Tokyo 1987, pp. <143>-<154>.
- 8) W. Rahula: "The Significance of 'Ariyavaṃsa'", *University of Ceylon Review* Vol. I, No. 1 (April 1943) pp. 59-68.
- 9) The essential points of this study are reproduced in his own work, the *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo 1956, pp. 268-273), and C. Witanachchi's statement on this topic in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (ed. by G. P. Malalasekera, Colombo, Vol. II, Fasc. 1, pp. 89-92) never surpasses Rahula's study.
- 10) DN III, 224 f.; AN II, 27 f.; J II, 441; Pts I, 84. According to Professor K. Mizuno's Japanese translation of the *Cullanidesa* (*Nanden-daizōkyō* Vol. XXIV, p. 415 f.), the CNd contains a passage on the Ariyavaṃsa almost identical with that of the MNd. Yet his translation is not of the PTS edition (by W. Stede, 1918) which is an abridged text, but of a Siamese edition (1926) which is a full text. The passage under consideration in the CNd is included in the prose part for Verse No. 42, and this part and the later parts for some unknown reason do not exist in other editions such as the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edn., the Indian Nālandā edn. and the Sri Lankan Buddha Jayanti edn. There arises, therefore, the possibility that all these parts are later additions occurring only in the Siamese edn. However as these parts complete the text, it would be better for the text to include them from the point of view of content, and moreover the PTS's commentary on the CNd also contains the part commenting upon Verse No. 42 and the later parts. In any case, since the passage on the Ariyavaṃsa in the CNd is almost the same as that in the MNd, only the passage in the latter is dealt with here. For the present study, no difficulty arises from this method.
- 11) Only in the Pts (I, 84) does "cattāri ariyavaṃsāni" (nt., pl.) appear, and here its content is not shown.
- 12) Taishō I, 51 a; XXIV, 804 c.
- 13) Taishō I, 563 bc; XXVI, 392 bc, 466 bc, 738 abc; XXVII, 907 af.; XXVIII, 978 bc; XXIX, 117 bc, 970 a, cf. the *Abhidon-shinron-kyō* (*A-p'i-t'an-hsin-lun-chin*, Taishō XXVIII, 862 b).
- 14) Kośa p. 336, II, 7-11.
- 15) In the case of the *Jātaka*, the type of the Ariyavaṃsa is unknown, and in the case of the Pts, only the name of the Ariyavaṃsa is given (cf. n. 11).

- 16) DA III, 1009-16; AA III, 44-56. As concerns the close reference between DA and AA, it seems that the AA consulted the DA, because it has been concluded that the DA was composed earlier than the AA. See my book (n. 4) pp. 92-104.
- 17) Cf. my book (n. 4) p. 52 f.
- 18) As regards Mahāśivātthera, see S. Mori: "Mahāśivātthera as Seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās", *Sri Lanka Journal of Buddhist Studies* Vol. I, Colombo 1987, pp. 117-127.
- 19) DA III, 1016; AA III, 56.
- 20) But even in the Aṭṭhakathā texts, there exist certain passages explaining the Ariyavaṃsa of the four items, e.g. the Vis (I, 59) shows Type B of it. It should be understood that they are derived from an older stratum of sources of Indian origin which would be more or less common to the canon. Generally speaking, the Aṭṭhakathā texts have two basic strata: an older stratum mentioned above and a newer stratum added in Sri Lanka. Cf. my book (n. 4) p. 52 f.
- 21) MA I, 15 for the former; MA II, 246, AA III, 44 (as Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-suttanta) for the latter.
- 22) DA II, 535 f.; MA II, 399; AA II, 343 f.
- 23) As to the dates of the reigns of Sri Lankan kings, those given in "A Chronological List of Ceylon Kings" composed by S. Paranavitana, which is contained in the *University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon* (Colombo 1961, pp. 341-346), are adopted here as the most recent and reliable ones.
- 24) With respect to the Bhāṇakas, cf. my book (n. 4) pp. 274-282, and VibhA p. 459 (only for the Ariyavāsa-bhāṇaka).
- 25) Yet this sutta was not necessarily preached by the Mahā-ariyavaṃsa-bhāṇakas only; e.g. it is mentioned that Nāgātthera and Dighabhāṇaka (Mahā)Abhayātthera who were both not the Ariyavaṃsa-bhāṇakas preached this sutta. DA II, 535 f.; MA II, 399; AA II, 249, III, 343 f.
- 26) According to Rahula (n. 8: p. 67 f.), in the Bhābru Edict of King Asoka, there appears the name of "Aliyavasāpi" as one of the seven suttas which were widely recommended to both elders and lay-Buddhists by this king. Rahula considers this sutta to be the Ariyavaṃsa. If this is so, then this inscription would be the oldest datable material referring to the Ariyavaṃsa.
- 27) As regards him, cf. S. Mori: "Chronology of the 'Sihala Sources' for the Pāli Commentaries (II)", *Bukkyō Kenkyū* (n. 3) Vol. XVII, 1988, p. 126 f.
- 28) Taishō XXVII, 907 a-909 c.
- 29) Mhv. chap. XXXVI, v. 38.
- 30) Rahula (n. 8: p. 62 f.) thinks that it dates from the time of Buddhaghosa (first half of the 5th c.), but his opinion has no solid basis. In fact it should be dated back to a much earlier period. Cf. S. Mori: *op. cit.* (n. 27) pp. 150-161.
- 31) Rahula: *op. cit.* (n. 8) p. 62.
- 32) His judgement is likely to be sound, because the assembly or festival had continued throughout Sri Lanka during a long period stretching over several centuries or more. There are a variety of likely possibilities.
- 33) Rahula: *op. cit.* (n. 8) p. 68.
- 34) *do.*
- 35) Regarding this, Visṭ (III, 1473 f, 1476 f.) makes no comment.
- 36) Bhikkhu Nyāṇamoli, tr.: *Path of Purification—Visuddhimagga—*, Colombo 1964 (2nd edn.) p. 729, n. 25.

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THE VITAṆḌAVĀDINS (SOPHISTS) AS SEEN IN THE PĀLI AṬṬHAKATHĀS

Sodō Mori

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Sodō Mori

(1)

The present English article is a revision of a Japanese article I wrote in 1975¹⁾ about the Vitaṇḍavādins (Sophists) as seen in the references found in the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās* (commentaries)²⁾. As far as I know, no other noteworthy study has yet been published on this subject except for a few minor references and pieces of information, some of which will be referred to in this article. To state briefly, a thorough investigation of all relevant sources has led me to the realization that the Vitaṇḍavādins referred to in the *Aṭṭhakathās* should be distinguished into two sorts, a crucial observation that has escaped the attention of scholars heretofore. The first group corresponds to the *Lokāyata* (*Lokāyatika*) of India. To explain their connection with the source material of the *Aṭṭhakathās*, it may be assumed that records of the first group are found in the older sources derived from India, which had a close relation to Early Buddhism. On the other hand, the second group included under the label Vitaṇḍavādins was viewed as a sophistic group by the Mahāvihāra fraternity of Theravāda Buddhism in ancient Sri Lanka, and references to this group seem to be found in the newer sources originating in Sri Lanka.

(2)

The references to the first Vitaṇḍavādins are found in the following pages of the *Aṭṭhakathās* :

DA I -90f., 247; MA III-223, 362; SA II-76, III-295; AA V-47;
UdA p. 205; SnA II-447; MNdA II-394; CNdA p. 15.

Among them the following recurring sentence may be quoted as a typical and clear explanation pertaining to the first group of Vitaṇḍavādins³⁾ :

Lokāyataṃ vuccati Vitaṇḍavādasattham.

The Mundane Philosophy is called sophistic teaching.

It is worthy of note that the subject of the sentence, i. e. the word being commented upon, is always "*Lokāyata*", and the word "*Vitaṇḍavāda*" appears as a defining complement. In other words, it is stated that *Lokāyata* is *Vitaṇḍavāda*, but not that *Vitaṇḍavāda* is *Lokāyata*. As a further example of this type of reference, an instance of what is called the *Lokāyata-vitaṇḍa-sallāpa-kathā* is given in the following passage⁴⁾.

Kālo seto aṭṭhinaṃ setatthā; balākā rattā lohitaṃ rattatthā.

A crow is white, because its bones are white; a peacock is red, because its blood is red.

Moreover, it is also notable as a distinguishing characteristic of the first type that not a single quotation from the Vitaṇḍavādins appears at all in the *Aṭṭhakathās* in spite of various quotations from the second type

of them as mentioned later. The expression that *Lokāyata* is *Vitaṇḍavāda* cannot be found in the *Tipiṭaka* and appears for the first time in the *Aṭṭhakathās*. Incidentally according to a study⁵⁾ by Prof. Kumoi, there were two lines of legend on the *Lokāyata* (*Lokāyatika*) : one was the view that they were materialists like Ajita Kesakambalin and the other was the view that they were sophists like Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, both of the Six Heretic Teachers at the time of the Buddha. The former legend, which also understands the *Lokāyata* as *Cārvāka*, was mainly transmitted in such Brahmanical works as the *Śarvamatasāṅgraha*, *Sarvasiddhāntasāṅgraha*, *Tattvasāṅgraha* and *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, etc.; while the latter is found in the "early Buddhist literature" (in Prof. Kumoi's terminology, includes the *Tipiṭaka* with its *Aṭṭhakathās*). However, in the latter case, it is necessary to make a rigid distinction between the *Tipiṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathās* in order to examine what is meant by *Lokāyata* more precisely. The descriptions of the *Lokāyata* found in the *Tipiṭaka* can be classified as follows :

(1) First is the *Lokāyata* counted as one of the branches of learning of a certain kind of Brahmanist⁶⁾. It is expressed by the following stereotyped passage :

.....tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāragu sanighaṇḍuketubhānaṃ sakkharappa-
bhedānaṃ itihāsaṇcamānaṃ padako veyyākaraṇo lokāyata-mahā-
purisalakkhaṇesu anavayo.

As may be seen in the above passage, this case of the *Lokāyata* is neither particularly criticized nor recommended by the scripture.

(2) The second is *lokakkhāyika* (speculation about the world) which is described as one of the 26-27 kinds of discussion labeled as "various

kinds of inferior talk" (*anekavahitacchānakathā*)⁷⁾ which are explained in one source⁸⁾ as the discussion participated in by the so-called group of six sinful monks (*chabbaggiya-bhikkhū*) or as one of the six inferior arts (*tiracchānavijjā*). This case of the *Lokāyata*, needless to say, is denounced by the scripture.

(3) The third is that mentioned in the *Lokāyata Sutta*⁹⁾:

When a *lokāyatika* brāhmaṇa asked the Buddha about the problem of existence, non-existence, unity, and the diversity of all the world, he replied that these four are *Lokāyata* and emphasized that the Tathāgata preaches the Truth (*dhmma*) with the Mean (*majjha*) aparting from these extremes. In this case, *Lokāyata* is certainly negated by the scripture as opposite to the Middle Path of the Buddha. The above-mentioned are the three kinds of *Lokāyata* noted in the *Tipiṭaka*, for the most part denied from the Buddhist standpoint. But in any case, they are not yet at this stage denied as *vitaṇḍavāda* (sophistry). As already stated, it is in the *Aṭṭhakathās* that the interpretation, "*Lokāyata* is *Vitaṇḍavāda*" appears for the first time in Buddhist literature. The only example of the words "*lokāyata*" and "*vitaṇḍa*" being enumerated together in the literature earlier than the *Aṭṭhakathā* works is in the *Milindapañha*¹⁰⁾, a work written between the *Tipiṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathās*. However, this text does not state that the *Lokāyata* is equal to the *Vitaṇḍavāda*.

The *Tikās* subcommentaries show no doctrinal progress over the *Aṭṭhakathās* regarding the first type of the *Vitaṇḍavādins*; the following passage is the only impressive statement in this respect¹¹⁾:

Āyamaṃ hitaṃ tena loka na yatati na ihatīti lokāyamaṃ. Na hi taṃ laddhiṃ nissāya sattā puñṇakiliyāya cittam pi uppādentī, kuto payogo, tam etassa atthi, tattha vā niyutto ti lokāyatiko.

It is *lokāyata* that, when [worldly] merit increases, [the people in] the world do not make efforts. Indeed, leaning on what is already gained (i.e. worldly merit), the people do not direct their attention to the deed of weal; and it is *lokāyatika* that a practising person, when it (i.e. worldly merit) incurs to him, becomes tied to it.

However, even this passage has no direct relation to the *Vitaṇḍavādins* in question. Generally speaking, the *Tikās* present no noteworthy commentary on not only the first type, but also the second type of *Vitaṇḍavādins*, excepting only the *Maṇḍipā*, an *Anuṭikā* written in a later period as mentioned in section four below.

(3)

The second type of *Vitaṇḍavādins* appears in the following places:

MA II-363, 404; III-14, 192, 201; IV-20; V-67, 104; AA V-85; ItvA II-6; PtsA 398f.; CpA p.158. DhsA pp.3, 90, 92, 241; VibhA pp.9, 51, 319, 459.

Among these sources, in the MA, SA, etc., the first and second types appear together in the same text without any sense of contradiction. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why other scholars have misunderstood the *Vitaṇḍavādins* as one group, and seems to derive from a formational character of the *Aṭṭhakathās* in that they were written in Pāli on the basis of various sources transmitted at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura. This second type of *Vitaṇḍavādin* is nothing but the promulgators of views opposite to those of the Mahāvihāra fraternity quoted as the object of the wordy attack in order to make their own views clearer. In almost all the examples the following passage can be commonly seen:

Ayaṃ (ettha) Ācariyānaṃ samānaṭṭhakathā.

Vitaṇḍavādi paṇ'āha :

This is just the common commentary of the Teachers.

But the Sophists say :

Ācariyā (Teachers, plural in number) in this case refer to none other than the sources counted as orthodox authority by the Mahāvihāra fraternity. And as the second type of Vitaṇḍavādin appears in the form of quoted examples contrary to the common views of the Ācariyā, this is obviously different from the first type of Vitaṇḍavādin meaning of the *Lokāyata* of India from which not even a single quotation is recorded. The views of the Mahāvihāra fraternity and this type of Vitaṇḍavādin may be compared as follows :

(1) Regarding the relation between the three forms of deed and the doors (*dvāra*), the Mahāvihāra fraternity said that immoral bodily action arises at the body door and speech door, while the Vitaṇḍavādins maintained that immoral bodily action arises at the mind door, too¹².

(2) The former said that immoral speech-action arises at the body door and speech door as well, while the latter said that it arises at the mind door, too¹³.

(3) On the Four Paths, the former stated that on the three higher Paths i.e. the Paths of *Arahatta*, *Anāgāmin* (Never-returner), *Sakadāgāmin* (Once-returner) are discerned the Four Truths which had also been discerned on the first Path (*Sotāpattimagga*), while the latter claimed that on the three higher Paths one sees what had not been discerned on the first Path¹⁴.

(4) The former maintained that the *Lokuttaramagga* encompasses

the eightfold path (*aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*), while the latter's claim had that it encompasses the fivefold path (*pañcaṅgika-magga*)¹⁵.

(5) The former said that the path is the refuge (*āsaya*) of all being, while the latter said that that which one who is breaking abode (*vāsa*) enters is the path¹⁶.

(6) Against the Mahāvihāra view that an *Anāgāmin* comes into being in the *Suddhāvāsa* with the fourth meditation-mind (*catutthajjhānacetanā*), the Vitaṇḍavādins are quoted as maintaining that the *Anāgāmin* comes into being there with vocal incontinence¹⁷.

(7) The former saw *Nibbāna* as the world of the unproduced (*asaṅkhatā*), by going to which one can destroy lust, anger, and stupidity, but the latter held that it indicates no world other than this, that *Nibbāna* is the extermination of illusions¹⁸.

(8) The Mahāvihāra idea that there is no form (*rūpa*) in formless existence (*arūpabhava*) and no principle of conscious life (*viññāṇa*) in unconscious existence (*asaññabhava*) contracts with the latter's claim that there is form in the formless existence and principle of conscious life in unconscious existence¹⁹.

(9) The former said that there is difference between what are pleasing and what are unpleasing, although the latter denied this, explaining that they differ from each other only depending on preference (*ruci*)²⁰.

(10) The latter held that the *Lokuttaramagga* is not of the duration of one thought (*ekacittakkhaṇika*) but of many thoughts (*bahucittakkhaṇika*), while the former disagreed²¹.

(11) Concerning the explanation of the three modes of feeling (*vedanāttayadesanā* : *sukha*, *dukkha*, and *adukkhamasukha*), the former described the established view (*nippariyāyadesanā*) only, while the latter claimed that as there is the word "two kinds of suffering" (*dukkhatā-*

dvayavacanato), its different view (*pariyāyadesanā*) should be shown²²).

(12) The former recognized only the present seven Pāli books as the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, while the latter disclaimed the authority of the *Kathāvatthu* among them, instead including a work named the *Mahā-dhamma-hadaya* in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*²³).

(13) Regarding the commentary on a passage in the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta*, the MA quoted a view of the *Vitaṇḍavādins* differing from that of the Mahāvihāra fraternity²⁴).

(14) The former said that only the three lower *phalas* are attained with "*sekha-vijjā*" while the latter, because of a certain passage in a scripture (Dhs Nos. 1016, 1400) to the effect that the *sekha-dhammas* are the four unincorporated (*aparipanna*) stages of the Path plus the three lower *sāmaññaphalas*, said that the *Arahatta-magga* also is the *phala* finally attained with the *sekha-vijjā*²⁵).

(15) In the commentary on a line of verse in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (p. 20, v. 210) is recorded another views of the *Vitaṇḍavādins* differing from that of the Mahāvihāra fraternity²⁶).

The above outlines the difference in views between the Mahāvihāra fraternity and the second type of *Vitaṇḍavādins*.

(4)

The next problem, then, is just where the second type of *Vitaṇḍavādins* fit into the history of Buddhism. With respect of this matter, the sectarian identity of this group, the following three conjectures may be entertained for the moment :

(A) It was none other than the Abhayagirivihāra fraternity, which had participated in a relationship of rivalry with the Mahāvihāra fraternity during

the history of Theravāda Buddhism in ancient and medieval Sri Lanka;

(B) It was a group from India such as the Vetulla (Vaitulya) that had been accepted by the open-minded Abhayagirivihāra fraternity and played an active part in ancient Sri Lanka;

(C) It was some Hinayāna sect from India differing from the Sri Lanka Theravāda.

Referring to conjection (A) above, Dr. Adikaram has pointed out that some *Suttas* quoted by the *Vitaṇḍavādins* as authority are the same as those accepted by the Theravādins²⁷. This fact might lead us to suppose that the so-called *Vitaṇḍavādins* were really the Abhayagirikas. The passage pointed out by him is as follows :

Evam bhāveyya, satta vassāni (MN i.62).

The above passage from the MN is clearly very short, and moreover the other passage pointed out by him (he listed two sources) is just a repetition of this—not only the wording of the passages themselves but also the text both preceeding and following—so that they are really one and the same. This is just the common phenomenon of identical passages being found throughout the *Tipiṭaka*, which had been separately transmitted by different sects or schools but sprung from the same origin. Such being the case, it is almost impossible to regard the *Vitaṇḍavādins* as the Abhayagirikas on the sole evidence of the one short passage shown above, even given its repeated appearance. As evidence to the contrary, it is very important to note that the *Vitaṇḍavādins* did not recognize the *Kathāvatthu* as a book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, as explained in point No. 12 of the previous section. This work is traditionally regarded as one of the seven books of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* written by Moggaliputta

Tissa, who is considered the founder of the South-Theravāda school, on the occasion of the Third Council. The view that this work was composed last among the works of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, or at least that it was one of the latter works, is very cogent and acceptable²⁸). In fact it criticizes the doctrinal explanations and opinions of other schools of Buddhism from the Southern Theravādic point of view, and in this sense is certainly the most sectarian in nature of the seven books. Therefore, the view of non-recognition of this work as a rightful work of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* cannot have been held by any Southern Theravādin sect including the Abhayagiri fraternity. The next basis of argument for this conjecture (A) is a statement found in the *Maṇidīpa*, a commentary on the *Mūlaṭīkā*, which in turn comments on the *Atthasālinī* (i.e. an *anuṭīkā* of the *Dhammasaṅgani*). It contains the following passage²⁹ :

The Vitaṇḍavādins are the sectarians of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana.

However, this cannot be accepted either, because the work is said to have been written by Ariyavaṃsa in Burma in the 15th C.³⁰), and this period, we must remember, is already about a thousand years after that of the authors of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās* in question, Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, etc., and three centuries after even the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (the Great, 1153-1189)³¹), who unified the Theravāda in Sri Lanka, recognizing only the Mahāvihāra fraternity as orthodox and abolishing its rivals including the Abhayagiri fraternity. In general, one hesitates to attribute much reliability to an uncorroborated statement such as this on Sri Lanka (especially on her ancient history) in a work as late as the *Maṇidīpa*, which additionally was written in Burma, a far distant foreign country. The fact that, as far as I know, even later *Ṭīkā*s in Sri Lanka (earlier than *Anuṭīkā*s, speaking generally) scarcely contain any suitable information, at least on the Vitaṇḍavādins casts aspersion on the credibility

of the *Maṇidīpa* in this matter. As a further evidence for my view against the Abhayagirikas being the Vitaṇḍavādins, I would like to point out the following two observations :

(1) In all the *Aṭṭhakathās*, the Abhayagirikas are referred to neutrally in citations as "some (people)" (*aññe, āpare, itare, ekacce, eke, keci, pare, ye...te...*, etc.)³²), and even where the Mahāvihāra authors are found criticizing or denying *Abhayagirikas'* views, there is no occasion of the former calling the latter by such a contemptuous name as "*vitaṇḍavādins* (sophists)".

(2) As explained in the previous section, almost all the views of the second type of Vitaṇḍavādins are compared with the orthodox comments of the Teachers (*Ācariyānaṃ samānaṭṭhakathā*) and criticized in light of them. There is another case in which the Teachers criticize others : it is "*paravādin* (other sectarian)". For example the VibhA (p.464) has the following passage :

Ayaṃ tāv'ettha Ācariyānaṃ samānaṭṭhakathā. Paravādi paṇ'āha:..... ti. Taṃ na tathā dattabbaṃ.

Only the *Vitaṇḍavādins* and this "*Paravādin*" in the *Aṭṭhakathās* were ever criticized on their views using the above expression. From these points, it is difficult to avoid concluding that the *Vitaṇḍavādins* in question were not some heretic group within Theravāda school, but a certain group outside that school.

We must next proceed to the second conjecture stated above. In the *Dīpavaṃsa*³³) is found a record that Vohārikatissa, a king of Sri Lanka (214-236), together with his minister Kapila, subdued the wicked monks (*pāpa bhikkhus*) who proclaimed the *vitaṇḍavāda* (sophistic doctrine)

and were ruining the religion of the *Jina*. On the other hand, the *Mahāvamṣa* also reporting the same incident, labels the same wicked monks as “*Vetulyavāda*” (*Vetulla*, *Vaitulya*)³⁴). Incidentally as the Dpv was written earlier than the Mhv, the name of “*vitaṇḍavādin*” would seem to be older than “*vetullavādin*”. Moreover, the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*, a work later than the above two, described the monks as follows³⁵) :

The schismatics of the Dharmaruci sect, who occupied Abhayagiri Vihāra, embraced the *Vaitulya Piṭaka*, the handiwork of the Tirthakas in the time of Dharmāsoka.

From a comparison of the content of the above texts, the opinion that the Vitaṇḍavādins were the Vetullavādins staying in the Abhayagiri vihāra would seem reasonable. However, even this remains to be proven : by the term Vetullavādins is of course usually meant the Mahāyānist. They were very active during a certain period in ancient Sri Lanka, and many Mahāyānistic ruins and monuments such as the images of *Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva*, together with its lingering influences, can be discovered today in this country. But it is not yet clear when it was introduced there. According to Dr. Paranavitana's study³⁶), the above incident during the reign of King Vohārikatissa in the early 3rd c. A. D. is the earliest record about Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka to be found in the books of history. Mahāyāna Buddhism is considered to have already been imported before that time, although just when is still unknown. Given the appearance of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India as having occurred in the first century B. C., any date thereafter is possible for its transmission from India into Sri Lanka. On the other hand, it is very much to be doubted that the Mahāyānist who produced so many new scriptures of

their own namely, the Mahāyāna Sūtras, would have recognized the six books other than the *Kathāvatthu* plus the *Mahādhammahadaya* as the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Even if the latter work was a Mahāyāna text, other six are undoubtedly Hinayāna ones. And could all the other views labeled as *Vitaṇḍavāda* mentioned earlier be attributed to the Mahāyānist?

Concerning the above conjecture (C), the problem seems to hang on No. 4 among the fifteen points of contention between Mahāvihāra and Vitaṇḍavāda adherents in section 3, in other words, the view that the *Lokuttaramagga* comprehends only the fivefold path. According to the *Kathāvatthu* Commentary, this was the view of the Mahiṃsāsakas. If so, it is possible to regard the Mahiṃsāsakas³⁷) or some group closely connected with them as the Vitaṇḍavādins in question. In this connection, it is recorded in the *Kao-sêng Fa-hsien-ch'uan* 高僧法顯傳 that Fa-hsien 法顯 visited Sri Lanka at the beginning of the fifth century and gained among other things there the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Mahiṃsāsakas (彌沙塞律藏本, i. e. the 五分律)³⁸). It is quite sure, therefore, that some Mahiṃsāsakas had come to this country by that time and that their views were more or less known to the Theravādins there. Even so, however, there still remains the question as to whether it was the Mahiṃsāsakas only who insisted upon the view in question. Moreover there is no additional proof that all of the other fourteen views are also attributable to the Mahiṃsāsakas. At least a few more of the views should be shown as evidence before the conclusion may be reached that the Vitaṇḍavādins in question were the Mahiṃsāsakas. At any rate, most of the views of the Vitaṇḍavādins cannot yet be identified with those of any known schools or groups in Buddhist history.

Finally I would like to consider another possibility : as stated before, the Vitaṇḍavādins were in some cases called the Vetullavādins (Vai-

tulyavādins), which latter were usually regarded as Mahāyānists. There is, however, another interpretation to the "Vetulla". Dr. Rahula explains this word as follows³⁹⁾:

Even today in Ceylon any Buddhist who holds new ideas against the accepted beliefs and practices is branded as a Vaitulya. The term Vetulla or Vaitulya literally means "dissenting" or "different", (secondary derivative form from *vi+tulya*).

This statement is very suggestive indeed. If correct, then, all the schools and groups of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna in India other than Sri Lankan Theravāda itself could alike be called Vitanḍavādins whenever their views on a certain matter were not those accepted as orthodox by the Teachers (*Ācariyā*) of the Theravāda school. This interpretation clears up a good deal with regard to the variety of the fifteen views in question, because it otherwise seems to be difficult to grasp them as belonging to any one particular school only.

Notes

- 1) Sodō Mori: "パーリ註釈書に見られる Vitanḍavādins" (The *Vitanḍavādins* as seen in the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās*), IBK Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (March 1975) pp. 217—221.
- 2) There are many kinds and categories of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās*, but I define them in this article as meaning the Pāli commentaries on the *Tiṭṭhaka* plus the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa's main work; cf. Sodō Mori: "アッタカター文献の種類範疇" (The Categories of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās*), IBK Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Dec. 1976) pp. 83—88.
- 3) DA I-247; MA III-362; CNdA p. 15.
- 4) DA I-91; SA III-295; AA V-47; UdA p. 205; MNdA II-394.
- 5) Shōzen Kumoi: 『仏教興起時代の思想研究』 (A Study of Indian Thought in the

Age of Buddhism's Arising (Kyoto 1967) pp. 96—125.

- 6) Brahmāyū brāhmaṇa, Mithila, Videha (MN II-133); Assalāyana mānava, Sāvatti (MN II-147); Caṅki brāhmaṇa, Opasāda brāhmaṇagama, Kosala (MN II-164f.); Kāpaṭhika mānava (MN II-168); Saṅgārava mānava, Candālakappa, Kosala (MN II-210).
- 7) MN I-513; II-1, 23, 30; Vin I-188; SN V-419f.; AN V-128, 129.
- 8) DN I-11, 69.
- 9) Vin I-188.
- 10) Mil p. 4.
- 11) SAT II-89, ll. 10~13. cf. MAT II-197.
- 12) DhsA p. 90f. (Bapat edn. p. 75).
- 13) DhsA p. 92 (Bapat edn. p. 76).
- 14) DhsA p. 241 (Bapat edn. p. 196).
- 15) VibhA p. 319. cf. MA V-104. There is the passage, "Evaṃ lokuttaramaggo atthaṅgiko vā sattaṅgiko vā hoti", so that it is clear that the Mahāvihāra fraternity did not deny the sevenfold path. But in the same place they did deny the fivefold path.
- 16) VibhA p. 459f.; PtsA II-398f.
- 17) MA III-13f.; AA V-85.
- 18) VibhA p. 51f.
- 19) MA V-20.
- 20) VibhA p. 9.
- 21) MA III-192, 404. cf. MA III-363.
- 22) ItvA II-6f. cf. Kōgen Mizuno: 『パーリ仏教を中心とした仏教の心識論』 (The Problem of Mind or Consciousness in Buddhism) (Tokyo 1964) pp. 108—115.
- 23) DhsA p. 3 (Bapat edn. p. 3f.).
- 24) MA V-67.
- 25) MA III-201.
- 26) CpA. p. 158. The line commented upon is "oloketoāna' haṃ tassa kareyyaṃ chārīkaṃ viya".
- 27) E. W. Adikaram: *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1953, First Impression: 1946) p. 95, note 8. cf. W. Rahula: *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1956) p. 89. Dr. Adikaram writes here "Pap II 363; Pap Sn 671". The former source "Pap II 363" means here that of the PTS edition, while the latter "Pap Sn" means a Sri Lanka edition of the MA, and this page is identical with

MA II-404 of the PTS edn.

- 28) Kōgen Mizuno: “巴利聖典成立史上に於ける無礙解道及び義釈の地位” (The Position of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and *Niddesa* in the History of the Formation of Pāli Literature (3)) (*Bukkyō-Kenkyū*, Vol. VI, No. 6, Tokyo, Jan. 1941) pp. 58—64. cf. Mizuno; *op. cit.* (Note 22) p. 22.
- 29) Pe Maung Tin, tr.: *The Expositor (Atthaśālinī)* (London, 1958) Vol. I, p. 5, footnote 5.
- 30) Gv pp. 64f. & 75. cf. M. H. Bode: *The Pāli Literature of Burma* (London, 1909) p. 41f.
- 31) As for the chronology of Sri Lanka's kings, the present article adopts the latest one: “A Chronological List of Ceylon Kings” (University of Ceylon's *Concise History of Ceylon* ed. by C. W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, Colombo, 1961 pp. 341—346). cf. Sodō Mori: “スリランカ王統年代論再考——W. ガイガー説修正の研究史” (A Research History of the Chronology of Sri Lanka—since Geiger's List of the Kings) (*Bukkyō-kenkyū*, No. 6, Hamamatsu, Japan, 1977, pp. 84—108).
- 32) But the “some people” does not always mean the Abhayagirikas. Such things can be found through the *Ṭīkā* commentaries.
- 33) Dpv. chap. XXII, vv. 43—44.
- 34) Mhv. chap. XXXVI, vv. 40—41. The MT (II-662) expresses “Vetullavādi-pāpabhikkhunniggaḥaṃ”. The “Vetulyavāda” in the Mhv is corrected as “Vetullavāda” by the MT.
- 35) C. M. Fernando, tr.: *Nikāya-saṅgrahawa* (Colombo, 1908) p. XXVIII.
- 36) S. Paranavitana: “Mahāyanism in Ceylon” (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G., Vol. II, p. 35). On Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka in general, the following studies have also been referred to; S. Paranavitana: “Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Ceylon” (D. R. Bhandarkar, ed.: *B. C. Law Volume* (Poona, 1946) pt. II, pp. 15—18); Nandasena Mudiyanse: *Mahayana Monuments in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1967).
- 37) KvA p. 186 (XX-5). Here *sammā-vācā*, *-kammanta*, and *-ājīva* are excluded; therefore, *sammā-ditthi*, *-saṅkappa*, *-vāyāma*, *-sati* and *-samādhi* out of the *ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga* remain as the fivefold path.
- 38) Taisho No. 2085, Vol. 51, p. 865c. cf. Akira Hirakawa: 『律蔵の研究』 (*A Study of the Vinaya Piṭaka*) (Tokyo, 1960) pp. 142—143.
- 39) Rahula: *op. cit.* (note 27) p. 90, footnote 1. cf. Kyōshō Hayashima: 『初期仏教の社会生活』 (*Social Life of Early Buddhism*) (Tokyo, 1964) p. 167, note 9.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Pali texts with no reference always refer to the Pali Text Society edition.)

AA	=Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā
AN	=Aṅguttaranikāya
CNdA	=Culla-Niddesaṭṭhakathā
Cp	=Cariyāpiṭaka
CpA	=Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā
DA	=Dighaṭṭhakathā
DhsA	=Dhammasaṅgaṇi-aṭṭhakathā
DN	=Dighanikāya
Dpv	=Dipavaṃsa
Gv	=Gandhavaṃsa (JPTS 1886)
IBK	=Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu (Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies)
ITvA	=Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā
KvA	=Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā
MA	=Majjhimaṭṭhakathā
MAṬ	=Majjhimaṭṭhakathāṭīkā, Burmese Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana edition
Mhv	=Mahāvaṃsa
Mil	=Milindapañha
MN	=Majjhimanikāya
MNdA	=Mahā-Niddesaṭṭhakathā
MT	=Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā
PtsA	=Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathā
SA	=Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā
SAṬ	=Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathāṭīkā, Burmese Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana edition
SN	=Saṃyuttanikāya
SnA	=Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā
Taisho	=Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo (Tripiṭaka in Chinese)
UdA	=Udānaṭṭhakathā

VibhA = Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā

(I note with thanks that Mr. Edgar M. Cooke, an American graduate student of the University of Tokyo kindly improved my English in this article.)

Aṭṭhakathācariyas and Aṭṭhakathikas

Sodō Mori

Aṭṭhakathācariyas and Aṭṭhakathikas

Sodō Mori

The study of the original sources of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās (commentaries) as a whole rather than text-by-text has been promoted by Dr. Adikaram¹⁾, yet his pioneering presentation is too brief and incomplete not only in terms of the enumeration of the varieties of source and reference, but also in his investigation of each. The present article aims at a thorough examination of two such sources, the Aṭṭhakathācariyas (Commentary Teachers; hereafter Ayas) and the aṭṭhakathikas (Commentators; Akas), as a part of my overall study of the Aṭṭhakathā sources.

The Ayas and the Akas are always referred to in plural form, indicating that they can not be the names of any particular individuals, but rather of certain special groups who composed and transmitted the old aṭṭhakathās (mainly in old Sinhalese) which were the sources of the present Pāli Aṭṭhakathās. In addition, as their views and understandings on many matters may be found quoted at various places throughout the aṭṭhakathās, they themselves should be placed among the body of sources. The Ayas as an authority are referred to in many Aṭṭhakathās, such as the Vis, VA, Kīkh, DA, MA, SA, AA, KhpA, SnA, UdA, ItA, MNdA, PṭsA, DhsA, and VibhA²⁾; while the Akas are only mentioned at a place in the KhpA³⁾ as discussed later. Some of these references are the same not only with the wording of the passage in question but also with the text both preceding and following⁴⁾.

As for evidence that the Ayas were indeed the composers of the old source-aṭṭhakathās, the VA points out⁵⁾ some differences among the Pāli, (i. e., Scripture), the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā⁶⁾, and Aṭṭhakathā (singular) regarding the explanation of the words *ghara* (house), *gharāpacāra* (vicinity of a house), *gāma* (village), and *gāmāpacāra* (vicinity of a village). After this, the following passage appears:

..., so ca Aṭṭhakathācariyānaṃ eva vidito, tasmā yathā gharāpacāre thitassa' ti gharā-

pacāralakkhaṇaṃ Pāliyaṃ avuttam pi Aṭṭhakathāya vuttavasena gahitaṃ, evaṃ sesam pi gahetabbam.

...and this [conclusion] was known to the Aṭṭhakathācariyas (Commentary Teachers), so that although the characteristics of the *vicinity of a house* implied in the phrase 'gharūpacāre thitassa...' are not stated in the Scripture, they are thus in the Aṭṭhakathā; so that the rest should be understood as such.

This passage shows us that what is known to the Ayas (*Aṭṭhakathācariyānaṃ eva vidito*) is precisely what is expounded in the Aṭṭhakathā (*Aṭṭhakathāya vuttam*), thus apparently indicating that the Ayas were the composers of the Aṭṭhakathās. Incidentally this use of the Aṭṭhakathā in the singular usually refers to the most basic source for each aṭṭhakathā in Pāli, originating in India, and in case of the VA (i. e., *Samantapāsādikā*) is none other than the old Vinayaṭṭhakathā. It is also worth noting that the VA lists up in the following order the eminent teachers whom Buddhists should follow: in the lifetime of the Buddha, the Buddha himself; after His decease, those of the status of mahāsāvaka, khīṇāsava, anāgāmin, sakadāgāmin, sotāpanna, tipīṭaka, dvipiṭaka, ekapiṭaka, ekasaṅgītika, ekāgama, aṭṭhakathācariya, and dhutaṅgadara. This lists also lends support to the view of the Ayas as the composers of and specialists in the source-aṭṭhakathās. In connection with the characteristics of the Ayas, their relation to the Porāṇas (Ancients) should be discussed. Among the quotations from the Ayas, as already shown (footnote 4), SA I-138, AA II-53, MNdA I-67, Pīsa III-600, and VibhA p. 300 are identical with one another in the following passage:

Bujjhanakassa puggalassa aṅgā ti vā bojjaṅgā.

But in the MA and UdA⁷⁾, this short sentence can be found as a quotation not attributed to the Ayas but to the Porāṇas, who are also recognized as one of the most important authorities for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās⁸⁾. In other words, out of the seven examples of the above citation, five attributes it to the Ayas and the other two to the Porāṇas, but in all cases the wording is almost the same even in the passage preceding and following. This fact of the confusion

between the Ayas and the Porāṇas suggests the possibility of very close mutual relation. I would note further that the DAṬ⁹⁾ comments that "*Porāṇa ti aṭṭhakathācariyā*," from which it may be assumed that the Porāṇas undoubtedly become synonymous with the Ayas. Generally speaking, however, such comments appearing for the first time not in the Aṭṭhakathās but in the Ṭikās cannot fully be relied upon without more definite proof. In fact, it is rather difficult to explain the fact that many questions from the Ayas and the Porāṇas exist together in same texts of the Aṭṭhakathās. Nonetheless, there is no room for doubt that the above comment of the DAṬ expresses some form of intimate relation between the Ayas and the Porāṇas at least.

Two other similarities regarding the two can be pointed out: the first is the fact that the quotations from the Ayas contain both prose and verse just as those from the Porāṇas, in some cases¹⁰⁾ verse and the rest prose. This is clearly different from the case of some other sources such as the Porāṇakattheras, the passages attributed to which are always expressed in prose only. Moreover as Dr. Adikaram has suggested¹¹⁾, the verses of the Ayas may have originally been written in Pāli, remained untranslated into Sinhalese and mixed in with the prose passages in Sinhalese; the same hypothesis being valid for the Porāṇas. Among the quotations from the Ayas mentioned before, the four verses in the SA (111-13) can be found but without attribution in the SnA and DhsA¹²⁾: in the SnA these verses in question are separated by a short prose passage following each, while in the DhsA, the same four verses appear contiguously following three contiguous but unrelated verses. As already stated, these verses are not quoted in connection with the Ayas but anonymously, thus suggesting a very old source for the statements of the Ayas, especially in verse form, just like the case of the Porāṇas (numerous anonymous verses may be found through the Tipiṭaka).

The second point of similarity between the Ayas and the Porāṇas regards their views. For example the SnA¹³⁾ introduces the following view of the Porāṇas on the circumstances of the naming of Sāvathī, capital of Kosala:

Porāṇa pana vaṇṇayanti: "yasma tasmim thāne satthasamāyoge 'kiṃ bhaṇḍam atthi'

ti pucchite 'sabbam atthi' ti āhaṃsu, tasmā taṃ vaccaṇam upādāya Sāvattī ti vuccati"
ti.

And the Porāṇas comment: in the caravan-group of that place, when the question was asked, "What kinds of goods are there?", they answered "sabbam atthi (everything is)"; therefore that place is named after the words as Sāvattī.

The explanation of the Ayas in some Aṭṭhathās¹⁴⁾ runs similarly;

Aṭṭhakathācariya pana bhananti: Yaṃ kiñci manussānaṃ upabhogaparibhogaṃ sabbam ettha atthi ti Sāvattī. Satthasamāyoge ca, kim bhandam atthi ti pucchite, sabbam atthi ti vaccaṇam upādāya Sāvattī.

Sabbada sabbūpakaraṇaṃ Sāvattīyaṃ samohitaṃ

tasmā sabbam upādāya Sāvattī ti pavuccati.

The Ayas say: that place is named as Sāvattī after the fact that all kinds of living necessities and food for people are available there (sabbam ettha atthi). And when, in the caravan-group, was it questioned, "what kinds of goods are there" [they answered], "sabbam atthi (everything is)", after which words it is called Sāvattī.

All the necessities are always gathered in Sāvattī

Then it is called Sāvattī after [the word] 'sabba'.

Needless to say, the two passages quoted above are not exactly identical, yet they have such similarity that is easy to suppose their stemming from the same source. Thus it is reasonable to judge the Ayas and the Porāṇas as not being precisely identical but at least intimately related.

Now we proceed to the matter of the Akas. Their name appears only once, in the KhpA¹⁵⁾, in the following passage:

Kalena dhammasācchā nāma: padosā va paccāse va dve suttantika bhikkhū aññam aññam Suttantaṃ sakacchanti, vinayadhara Vinayaṃ, abhidhammika Abhidhammaṃ, jātakabhāṇaka Jātakaṃ, aṭṭhakathika Aṭṭhakathāṃ, līn-uddhata-vicikicchāparetacitta-visodhanattham va tamhi tamhi kale sakacchanti, ayaṃ kalena dhammasācchā; sā agamavyattiadināṃ guṇānaṃ hetuto maṅgalaṃ ti vuccati ti.

The occasional conversoiaon about the Dhamma is interpreted thus: at the time of committing an offense or at dawn, two Suttatika-bhikkhus mutually discuss the

Suttanta, Vinayadharas the *Vinaya*, Abhidhammikas the *Abhidhamma*, Jātakabhāṇakas the *Jātaka*, and Aṭṭhakathikas the *Aṭṭhakathā*, in order to purify sluggish, unsettled, doubtful, and defeated minds: they discuss occasionally. This is the occasional conversation about the Dhamma; it is called the auspiciousness based on the merits of the transmitted wisdom and so on.

It is quite clear from the above passage that the Aṭṭhakathikas were the specialists in the Aṭṭhakathā, composing and transmitting it, just as the Suttantikas in the *Suttanta*, the Vinayadharas in the *Vinaya*, the Abhidhammikas in the *Abhidhamma*, and the Jātakabhāṇakas in the *Jātaka*. Consequently the Akas are none other than the Ayas, although the term "Aṭṭhakathācariyas" occurs much more commonly than "Aṭṭhakathikas", with the latter only being found in the Aṭṭhakathās as an exception. Even so "Aṭṭhakathācariyas" seems to be the older terminology.

(The Pāli texts quoted here are the Pāli Text Society edition.)

- 1) E. W. Adikaram: *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1496 pp. 1-42.
- 2) Vis I-62, 102, 332; VA I-206, II-300, 314, III-583, IV-753 (twice), 769; V-1063; Kīkh p. 4; DA I-187; II-481; MA I-59, 225, 255; SA III-13, 39, 138, 139, 185; AA II-53, 99; KhpA p. 100; SnA I-23, 43; UdA p. 55; ItA I-33; MNdA I-67; PtsA III-532; DhsA p. 85, 123, 217; VibhA p. 85, 310, 350.
- 3) KhpA p. 151.
- 4) DA I-187=MA I-255=SA III-185=VibhA p. 350; DA II-481=MA I-225; MA I-59=KhpA p. 110=UdA p. 55=PtsA III-532; SA I-138=AA II-53=MNdA I-67=PtsA III-600=VibhA p. 310; SA III-139=AA II-99. In addition, SnA I-23 and 43 are identical regarding the short quotation from the Ayas, but not the surrounding text.
- 5) VA II-300.
- 6) On this source, see my article "On the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā" (in Japanese), *Buddhist Studies*, Vol. IX (Hamamatsu, Japan 1979) pp. 87-104.
- 7) MA I-83; UdA p. 305.
- 8) Cf. Sodō Mori: "The Porāṇas as Seen in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās" (in Japanese), *Bulletin of Jōsai University* Vol. V (Sakado, Japan 1981) pp. 1-29.
- 9) DA I-60.
- 10) VA V-1063; Kīkh p. 4; SA III-13; DhsA p. 85.
- 11) Adikaram: op. cit. p. 15.

12) (SA III-13)

Ten' āhu Aṭṭhakathācariyā;

Patthaddho bhavati kāyo daṭṭho kaṭṭha-mukhena vā,
 Paṭhavi-dhātu-ppakopena hoti kaṭṭha-mukhe 'va so.
 Pūṭiko bhavati kāyo daṭṭho pūṭi-mukhena vā,
 Āpo-dhātu-ppakopena hoti aggi-mukhe 'va so.
 Santatto bhavati kāyo daṭṭho aggi-mukhena vā,
 Tejodhātu-ppakopena hoti aggi-mukhe 'va so.
 Sañchinno bhavati kāyo daṭṭho sattha-mukhena vā,
 Vāyodhātu-ppakopena hoti sattha-mukhe 'va so ti.

(SnA II-458)

..., yathāha:

"pathavīdhātuppakopena hoti kaṭṭhamukhe va so" ti,
 patthaddho bhavati kāyo daṭṭho kaṭṭhamukhena vā,
 āpodhātuppakopena pūtibhāvaṃ āpajjitvā paggharitaṃ pubbamāṃsalohito aṭṭhicammā-
 vaseso hoti, yathāha:

"pūṭiyo bhavati kāyo daṭṭho pūṭimukhena vā,
 āpodhātuppakopena hoti pūṭimukhe va so" ti,
 tejodhātuppakopena aṅgārakāsuyam pakkhitto viya samantā pariḍayhati, yathāha:
 "santatto bhavati kāyo daṭṭho aggimukhena vā,
 tejodhātuppakopena hoti aggimukhe va so" ti,
 vāyodhātuppakopena sañchijjamānasandhibandhano pāsāṇehi koṭṭetvā sañcuppiyamā-
 natṭhiko viya ca hoti, yathāha:

"sañchinno bhavati kāyo daṭṭho satthamukhena vā,
 vāyodhātuppakopena hoti satthamukhe va so" ti,

(DhsA P. 300)

Bhūmito vuṭṭhitā yāva brahmalokā vidhāvati,
 Acci accimato loke ḍayhamānam pi tejasā.
 Koṭisatasahass 'ekam cakkavāḷam vilīyati,
 Kupitena yadā loko salilena vinassati.
 Koṭisatasahass 'ekam cakkavāḷam vikirati,
 Vāyodhātuppakopena yadā loko vinassati.
 Patthaddho bhavati kāyo daṭṭho kaṭṭhamukhena vā,
 Paṭhavi-dhātuppakopena hoti kaṭṭhamukhe va so.
 Pūṭiyo bhavati kāyo daṭṭho pūṭimukhena vā,
 Āpodhātuppakopena hoti pūṭimukhe va so.
 Santatto bhavati kāyo daṭṭho aggimukhena vā,
 Tejodhātuppakopena hoti aggimukhe va so.
 Sañchinno bhavati kāyo daṭṭho satthamukhena vā,

Vāyodhātuppakopena hoti satthamukhe va so.

13) SnA I-300.

14) MA I-59; KhpA p. 110; UdA p. 55; PtsA III-532. Among these references only the MA and KhpA add the following verses:

Kosalānaṃ puraṃ raṃmaṃ dāssaniyaṃ manoramaṃ
 dasahi saddhehi avivuttaṃ annapānasamāyutam.
 Vuddhiṃ vepullataṃ pattaṃ iddhaṃ phītaṃ manoramaṃ
 Alakamandā va devānaṃ Sāvatti-puraṃ uttamaṃ.

15) KhpA p. 151.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Āṅguttaraṭṭhakathā
Akas	Aṭṭhakathikas
Ayas	Aṭṭhakathācariyas
ItA	Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā
UdA	Udānaṭṭhakathā
Kñkh	Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī
KhpA	Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā
DA	Dīghaṭṭhakathā
DAṬ	Dīghaṭṭhakathāṭikā
DhsA	Dhammasaṅgani-aṭṭhakathā
PtsA	Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathā
MA	Majjhimaṭṭhakathā
MNdA	Mahā Niddesaṭṭhakathā
Vis	Visuddhimagga
VA	Vinayaṭṭhakathā
VibhA	Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā
SA	Samyuttaṭṭhakathā
SnA	Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā

(I note here with thanks that Mr. Edgar M. Cooke, an American graduate student of the University of Tokyo, kindly improved my English in this article.)

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In the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts (commentaries),² we find a great many names of persons of ancient Sri Lanka as well as of ancient India. According to my investigation,³ these ancient Sri Lankans number nearly two hundred in all. Many of them, however, can be regarded either as different individuals with the same name or as identical persons with different names. Therefore they must be identified and dated as far as possible by a thorough examination for the sake of the study of the history of Sri Lanka in general, and of the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka in particular, and also for the sake of the study of the philological nature of the Aṭṭhakathā texts themselves. Although these persons have been described in some earlier works such as Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*⁴ and Adikaram's *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*⁵ these descriptions are still inadequate and at places are incorrect. It is therefore necessary to investigate them again.

The name of Mahāsīvatthera⁶ is seen very frequently in numerous Aṭṭhakathās. To the best of my knowledge, it occurs forty-eight times in all. This does not include the occurrence of the identical name in the Ācariyaparamparā of the *Samantapāsādikā*⁷ and of the *Vinayaṭṭhaka*⁸ as well. However, we see in some cases, only the basic name Mahāsīva, while in other cases we see various other names or titles prefixed to that basic name ; so that it is difficult to identify them by casual examination. It is only possible to do this and to fix their dates by comparing all their titles, views, deeds and their treatment by Pāli commentators like Buddhaghosa, etc., and by examining all records concerning persons with this name.

The following is the list of all the Mahāsīvas, and the places in the Aṭṭhakathā texts, where their names occur :

Gāmantapabbhāravāsī—Mahāsīva : 4 places, (DA III—727ff ; MA V-23⁹ ; AA I—40, 49)

Vāmantapabbhāravāsī—Mahāsīva : 1 place, (JA IV—490)

Vāmantapabbhāravāsī—Mahāsīva : 1 place, (JA VI—30)

Dīghabhāṇaka—Tipiṭaka—Mahāsīva : 3 places, (DA II—543—SA III—281 ; DA III—883)

Dīghabhāṇaka—Mahāsīva : 4 places, (DA III—881—SA III—211 ; DA—805—MA II—375 ; I—301)

Tipiṭaka-Mahāsīva : 6 places, (DA I—202f.=MA I—269f.=SA III—198 ;
DA II—375 : DA II—430=MA IV—174)

Mahāsīva : 29 places

(DA I—203=MA I—270 ; DA II—430=MA IV—174 ; DA II—511=AA
IV—28=CNiDA p. 60f.=Pṭsa I—112 ; DA II—554=SA III—251=AA
IV—149=UdA p. 323 ; DA III—805=MA I—301 ; DA III—1013=AA III—51
CNiDA p. 122 ; Dhs p. 405=MNiDA II—346 ; VA III—711 ; DA III—736, 892,
976 ; MA II—286 ; SA III—302 ; DhsA p. 220f. 266 ; VA V—1101, 1138)

As is clear from this list, the name Mahāsīva appears in 17 places in the *Dīgha-
atthakathā* ; in 8 places in the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* ; in 5 places in both the *Samyutta-
atthakathā* and *Anguttaraṭṭhakathā* ; in 3 places in both the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi-
atthakathā* and *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* ; in 2 places in both the *Jātakatthakathā* and
Culla-Niddesaṭṭhakathā ; and in 1 place each in the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathā*,
Mahā Niddesaṭṭhakathā and *Udānaṭṭhakathā*.

Comparison of these passages shows that some of them are identical. For example
the passage about Tipiṭaka Mahāsīva in the *Dīghaṭṭhakathā* (I—202f.) is basically
the same as the passages in the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* (I—269f.) and the *Samyuttaṭṭha-
kathā* (III—198) ; the passage regarding Mahāsīva with no other name prefixed, in
DA (II—511), AA (IV—28) CNiDA (p. 60f.) and Pṭsa (I—112) agree with one another.
Such duplicated sources are indicated by the sign of equality (=) in the above list.
If we exclude these duplicates, the statements concerning all the Mahāsīvas in the
Atthakathās number thirty. Of these thirty, the Mahāsīvas who have the names
of their residences prefixed are :

Gāmantapabbhāravāsī=Mahāsīva
Vāmantapabbhāravāsī=Mahāsīva
Vāmattapabbhāravāsī=Mahāsīva

The difference between these three names, needless to say, lies in the spelling
of “Gāmantā”, “Vāmantā”, and “Vāmatta”. Yet even in the case of “Vāmantā”
(JA IV-490), “Gāmantā” is recorded in its footnote (n.15) as a variant reading.
In addition, considered from the point of view of meaning, “Gāmantapabbhāra”
which means “cave” (=monastery) at the verge of a village makes sense.
On the other hand “Vāmantā” (on the left verge) also is meaningful whereas
“Vāmatta” (the leftness) is completely meaningless as the name of a place.
However, “Gāmantapabbhāra,” going by place names, appears to be the correct
reading.¹⁰

With respect to his date, from the evidence given below, it can be inferred
that he was a contemporary of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161—137)¹¹

The *Jātakatthakathā* (IV-490) states that the following seven theras came late
to the meeting held at Kuddāla and four other places :

- (1) Paṭhaviṇālaka-Dhammagutta
- (2) Kaṭakandhakāravāsī Phussadeva
- (3) Uparimaṇḍalakamalavāsī-Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita
- (4) Maliya-Mahādeva
- (5) Bhaggirivāsī-Mahādeva
- (6) Gāmantā¹²pabbhāravāsī-Mahāsīva
- (7) Kāḷavallimaṇḍapavāsī-Mahānāga

Of these seven, the fourth is recorded as one of the five elders who were speci-
fically offered meals by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi on the occasion of the Akkhakkhāyika
famine, one of the four major famines in ancient Sri Lanka.¹³ Furthermore, the first,
fourth and seventh are also described as elders who were offered meals by Sāli,
son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in his previous life story.¹⁴ Since the fourth appears in both
these stories, all the theras in both accounts can be regarded as contemporaneous
with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

On the other hand, JA (VI—30) also states a similar story to the above, which
must have been derived from the same source. It lists the following seven elders
as those who were late for the meetings held at the places that are identical with four
among the five in the above story.

- (a) Maṅgaṇavāsī - Khuddatissa
- (b) Mahāvamsaka
- (c) Kaṭakandhakāravāsī-Phussadeva
- (d) Uparimaṇḍakamālavāsī-Mahā-Rakkhita
- (e) Bhaggirivāsī-Mahātissa
- (f) Gāmantā¹⁵pabbhāravāsī-Mahāsīva
- (g) Kāḷavelavāsī-Mahā-Maliyadeva.¹⁶

If we compare these two lists, we can see that four theras in the first list are
basically identical with four in the second list [(2)=(c), (3)=(d), (4)=(g), and (6)=(f)],
and probably a fifth is also the same [(5)=(e)]. Then thera (a) is listed in the
*Mahāvamsa*¹⁷ as one of the theras who were offered meals by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi during the
famine. Consequently the four persons who can be dated here, i.e. (1), (4)=(g),
(7) and (a) can all be considered as belonging to the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.
Therefore the remaining five including the Gāmantapabbhāravāsī-Mahāsīva under
consideration [(b), (2)=(c), (3)=(d), (5)=(e), (6)=(f)] are consequently deduced
to have been contemporaries of the same king.

According to the *Mahāvamsa*,¹⁸ another Mahāśivathera who was a resident at Bhātivaṅka, i.e. Bhātivaṅkavāsi-Mahāśiva,¹⁹ also lived in the reign of Duṭṭha-gāmaṇī. It seems likely that in order to discriminate between these two contemporaries bearing the same name, they had the names of places prefixed to their own names. These perhaps were the names of the monasteries where they resided.

With respect to the remaining theras with the identical name, i.e. Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāśiva, Dīghabhāṇaka-Mahāśiva, Tipiṭaka-Mahāśiva and Mahāśiva without any prefix, I believe that all are identical, because it has been impossible to find any evidence which proves them to have been different persons. On the contrary, the following investigation leads me to the conclusion that all of these Mahāśivas were one and the same person.

First, an instance of very clear evidence can be found: DA (III—805=MA I—301) quotes twice the views of Mahāśiva with an interval of several lines on the same page. In the first reference, he is called Dīghabhāṇaka-Mahāśivathera, and in the second he is called simply Mahāśivathera without any prefix. This passage never introduces the views of two different Mahāśivas, but it shows that the Mahāśiva with no epithet prefixed refers to Dīghabhāṇaka-Mahāśiva at least in this case. Two similar instances can be seen in DA and MA: DA (I—202f.=MA I—269f). The first quotes the views of Tipiṭaka-Mahāśivathera and on the next page it again refers to the same therā as Mahāśivathera with no title Tipiṭaka prefixed. Another passage in DA (II—430=MA IV—174) also shows exactly the same instance of the relation between the name of Tipiṭaka-Mahāśiva and that of Mahāśiva without the epithet Tipiṭaka.

Discussing as a whole, the views and opinions of these Mahāśivas other than Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāśiva are actually quoted in many Aṭṭhakathās, and some similarity can be seen in the way of quoting them. That is to say, the passage of the Aṭṭhakathā texts being, in many cases, with comments on a particular word or phrase of the Canon. Whenever (with a few exceptions mentioned later) the commentators like Buddhaghosa and others quote Mahāśiva's views and opinions they first state the accepted orthodox exposition of the Mahāvihāra fraternity on the commented words or phrases and then they introduce his views and opinions as an additional explanation. It is specifically to be noted that in some cases his views and opinions are regarded as authoritative as such very important sources as the Pāli Canon²⁰ itself or as the aṭṭhakathā²¹ of the Mahāvihāra, etc. In almost all instances, his views and opinions which follow the most basic comments are referred to in the following way²²

Mahāśivathero pana āha :ti
 Mahāśivathero kira āha :ti.
 Mahāśivathero pana :ti āha.
 Mahāśivathero pana :ti vadati.

Ettha Mahāśivatherodesesiti.
ti Mahāśivathero āha.
ti Mahāśivathero avoca.

The following three passages, however, are the only exceptions :

- (1) In DA (III—376), there is a passage, “Mahāśivathera-bhāgineyya-Siva-sāmaṇerassa viya”, after which an episode about Siva-sāmaṇera, nephew of Mahāśivathera is mentioned.
- (2) In VA (V—1101), there is a dialogue on the discipline between Karavikatisa-tthera²³, the highest specialist in the discipline and Mahāśiva himself. It starts with the following passage :
 Tatv'idam vatthu : Karavikatisso kira vinayadharapāmokkho Mahā-sivatherassa santikam agamāsi.
- (3) In DA (III—882f.), there is a statement referring to “Therasallāpa” (discussion of elders²⁴). This is a discussion about the catu-sacca-dhamma among the three eminent elders of Sri Lanka : Kāḷhala (vihāra)²⁵-vāsi-Summatthera, Lokuttaravāsi-Cūlasivathera, and Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāśivathera himself. It can be recognized as a traditional source of the Mahāvihāra fraternity.

Of these three exceptions, two instances are really nothing more than quotations of Mahāśiva's views in his arguments with other elders. Thus the case of this Mahāśiva differs entirely from that of Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāśiva, of whom only the deeds or stories have been described. For example, a story about, not the views of, the latter begins with the following passage:²⁶

Assu-dhārā pavattanti gāmantapabbhāra-vāsi-Mahā-Sivatherassa viya.
 Thero kira aṭṭhārassa mahā-gaṇe vāceti. Tass' ovāde ṭhatvā timsasahassa-bhikkhū arahattam pāpuṇṇsu.

No elder of Sri Lanka is more frequently cited in the Aṭṭhakathās than Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāśiva. Moreover, the topics on which his views are recorded are full of variety. For instance, they are concerned with matters of *bhojana-ānisaṃsa*²⁷ *anuttara-sammā-sambodhi*,²⁸ *sammā-ājīva*,²⁹ *sī mā*,³⁰ *catuttha-jjhāna-saññā*³¹, *cīvara*,³² *kammaṭṭhāna*,³³ *ñāṇa*,³⁴ *catu-sacca-dhamma*,³⁵ etc. All these manifold topics are, needless to say, quite essential to Buddhist teaching and practice. This fact gives evidence that he was an elder with so broad and profound a knowledge that he was appropriately named “Tipiṭaka-Mahāśiva”. It should also be noted that his views occur most frequently in DA, as already stated. It seems to prove that he must have been a Dīghabhāṇaka, i.e. a reciter well versed in the Dīghanikāya, even though, in some cases, he is called simply Mahāśiva.

I shall next discuss the date of this *Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsīva*. In spite of many quotations giving his views, there is hardly any clue as to his date in the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts themselves. The only passage to be noted is found in *DhsA* (p. 266f.)³⁶ which is concerned with *vipākacitta*. The quotation from *Mahāsīva*'s exposition ends with the statement, "*Tiṭṭhaka-Cūlanāgatttherādayo viya*". It is clear from this passage that *Mahāsīva* knew *Tiṭṭhaka Cūlanāgattthera*'s deeds, which indicates that he was either a contemporary of the latter *thera*, or lived after him. *Cūlanāga* was so distinguished an elder that he was also given the title "*Tiṭṭhaka*", and his views or stories about him can be seen at many places in various *Aṭṭhakathā* texts.³⁷ Of these passages concerning *Tiṭṭhaka-Cūlanāga*, *VibhA* (p. 452) contains a story about him and King *Kuṭakaṇṇatissa* (B.C. 41—19); so that he can be considered to have lived in the latter half of the first century B.C. The *Mahāsīva* in question, consequently, seems to have lived in the same period or thereafter, yet nothing more about him can be discovered from the records of the *Aṭṭhakathās*. In *MhvT* (II—555), however, a reference to "*Tiṭṭhaka Mahāsīva*" and King *Vasabha* (A.D. 65—109) can be found. It begins with the following passage:

Aparo Nigrodhapitṭhivāsiko sabbapariyattiko teṭṭhako Mahāsivatto
nāma Vasabharaṇṇo gehe nisiditvā dasabalassa Sihanādasuttaṃ kathento
Mahācetiye dhātunidhānaṃ vaṇṇetvā suttantaṃ vinivaṇṇetvā niṭṭhāpesi.

From this passage, it is obvious that this *Mahāsīva* who had mastered all the texts and who was given the title of "*Tiṭṭhaka*", i.e. "*Tiṭṭhakadhara*" was contemporaneous with King *Vasabha*. It is quite impossible that there should appear in ancient Sri Lanka two or more *Mahāsīvas* who were *Tiṭṭhakadharas*. As already stated at the beginning of the present article, there are nearly two hundred ancient Sri Lankans recorded in the *Aṭṭhakathās* (except in the *Ācariyaparamparā*), and of these the great majority are elders. Of these elders, those who are recognized as *Tiṭṭhakadhara* are only eight in number, excluding the *Mahāsīva* under consideration. (The name shown in brackets in each line refers to the king who was contemporary with each elder.) They are:

Cūla-Abhaya (*Kuṭakaṇṇatissa*)³⁸

Cūlanāga (*Kuṭakaṇṇatissa*)³⁹

*Cūlasumana*⁴⁰

Cūlasumma (*Kuṭakaṇṇatissa*)⁴¹

*Tissa*⁴²

Mahātipiṭṭhaka (*Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*)⁴³

Mahādhammarakkhita (*Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*)⁴⁴

Vatṭabbaka-Nigrodha (*Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*)⁴⁵

Although some of these have the same 'basic names' as other elders, no other *Tiṭṭhakadharas* with the same 'basic name' are found. In the case of the *Mahāsīva* under discussion, therefore, the *Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsīva* mentioned in *MhvT* must have been identical with the elder called *Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsīva* recorded in the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts. If this is correct, the residence of the *Mahāsivatto* who was a *Dīghabhāṇaka* and *Tiṭṭhakadhara* as well is thought to have been a place named *Nigrodhapitṭhi* i.e. *Nigrodha Plain* (cf. *Sinh. Nugapitiya*). In addition, among the eight *Tiṭṭhakadharas* listed above, six are datable and of these the earliest are *Mahātipiṭṭhaka*, *Tiṭṭhaka-Mahādhammarakkhita* and *Tiṭṭhaka-Vatṭabbaka-Nigrodhatthera*. All three of them lived during the reign of *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi* (B.C. 103-102; 89—77, restored): i.e. approximately in the early part of the first century B.C. No *Tiṭṭhakadhara* existed before the time of *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi* when Buddhism in Sri Lanka, especially its doctrinal study, was probably not so developed as to produce an elder with the title of *Tiṭṭhakadhara*. From this point of view, it is also certain that *Gāmantapabbhāravāsī-Mahāsīva*, a contemporary of King *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi*, cannot be identified with *Dīghabhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka Mahāsīva*.

Finally, I shall consider a *Mahāsīva* who is listed in the *Ācariyaparamparā*, because he has been omitted from our discussion. It goes without saying that the *Ācariyaparamparā* (succession of teachers) is the list of the elders who transmitted the discipline in the Theravāda school. That *Mahāsīva* is described as follows:⁴⁶

Mahākathī Mahāsīvo piṭṭhake sabbattha kovido.

"The great orator *Mahāsīva* proficient in all the contents of the *Piṭṭhaka*."

In this passage, the word '*Piṭṭhaka*' is ambiguous. It may have two meanings, since it can refer either to the *Tiṭṭhaka* or to the *Vinaya Piṭṭhaka*. Similar expressions can be found in the *Ācariyaparamparā*:⁴⁷

(1) *Punar eva Sumano medhāvī vinaye ca visārado.*

(2) *Tassa sisso mahāpaṇṇo Khemanāmo tiṭṭhako.*

(3) *Mahākathī Mahāsīvo piṭṭhake sabbattha kovido.*

(4) *Punar eva Upālī medhāvī vinaye ca visārado.*

(5) *Punar eva Abhaya medhāvī piṭṭhake sabbattha kovido.*

(6) *Tissatthero ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado.*

(7) *Cūlābhaya ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado.*

(8) *Cūladevo ca medhāvī vinaye ca visārado.*

(9) *Sivatthero ca medhāvī vinaye sabbattha kovido.*

Of these passages, the first, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth are obviously descriptions of elders as experts in the Vinaya, and the second is a reference to a Tipiṭakatthera named Khema although an elder of this name is not seen anywhere in the Aṭṭhakathā texts except here in the Ācariyaparamparā. On the other hand, it is not clear whether the elders in the third and the fifth passages are experts in the Tipiṭaka or in the Vinaya Piṭaka only. It entirely depends upon the interpretation of the word "Piṭaka", as already stated. Prof. Jayawickrama takes this Piṭaka to be the Vinaya Piṭaka;⁴⁸ Prof. Nagai takes it to be the Tipiṭaka;⁴⁹ but Dr. Horner takes it as just "Piṭaka",⁵⁰ which is rather ambiguous. If "Piṭaka" means here the Tipiṭaka, then Mahāsīva was a Tipiṭakadhara; if it means the Vinaya Piṭaka only, he was a Vinayadhara. I am inclined to regard this Mahāsīva as a Tipiṭakadhara, because I do not consider that there were two Mahāsīvas (other than Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsīva) in ancient Sri Lanka, one being a Tipiṭakadhara, and the other a Vinayadhara.⁵¹ Moreover, it is certainly understandable that any Tipiṭakatthera would definitely be regarded as an expert in the Vinaya Piṭaka, namely a Vinayadhara, who is qualified to be listed in the Ācariyaparamparā, because the Tipiṭaka of course consists of the three Piṭakas: the Vinaya, the Sutta, and the Abhidhamma Piṭakas; in other words, the Vinaya Piṭaka is only a part of the Tipiṭaka.

To sum up, the elder who has Mahāsīva as his "basic name", who lived in ancient Sri Lanka, and who is recorded in the Aṭṭhakathā texts is in fact two different Mahāsīvas; one is Gāmantapabbhāravāsi-Mahāsīvatthera (at places misspelt as Vāmanta or Vāmatta), who lived in the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161—137); and the other is Dīghabhāṇaka-Tipiṭaka-Mahāsīvatthera, who was sometimes called Dīghabhāṇaka-Mahāsīva, Tipiṭaka-Mahāsīva or Mahāsīva with no other name prefixed, and who lived at Nigrodha Plain during the time of King Vasabha (A.D. 65—109). The latter seems to be identical with another Mahāsīva who is listed in the Ācariyaparamparā.

Abbreviations

- AA : Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā, Manorathapūraṇī
 CNidA : Culla-Niddesaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammapajjotikā
 DA : Dīghaṭṭhakathā, Sumaṅgalavilāsinī
 DAT : Dīghaṭṭhakathāṭṭhikā, Linatthavaṇṇanā
 DhsA : Dhammasaṅgaṇi-aṭṭhakathā, Atthaśālinī
 IBK : Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū, or Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Tokyo)
 JA : Jātakaṭṭhakathā
 MA : Majjhimaṭṭhakathā, Papañcasūdanī
 Mhv : Mahāvamsa
 MhvT : Mahāvamsaṭṭhikā, Vamsatthappakāsinī
 MNidA : Mahā-Niddesaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammapajjotikā
 PTS : Pāli Text Society
 PtsA : Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammapakāsinī
 Puga : Puggala-paññatti-aṭṭhakathā (JPTS 1913—1914)

- SA : Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā, Sāratthappakāsinī
 SHB : Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series
 ThagA : Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā, Paramatthadipani
 VA : Vinayaṭṭhakathā, Samantapāsādikā
 VibhA : Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodanī
 Vin : Vinaya Piṭaka
 Vis : Visuddhimagga
 (The Pāli texts referred to are the PTS editions unless specified otherwise.)

NOTES

1. This is an English revision of my article in Japanese, entitled "Aṭṭhakathā ni arawareta Mahāsīva-chōrō", IBK Vol. 26, No. 1, December 1977, pp. 105—110.
 (I am grateful to Mr. K. R. Norman of the University of Cambridge for the discussion I have had with him about this topic.)
2. This refers to the *Visuddhimagga* and the primary commentaries on the Pāli Canon. They are also called in this article the Aṭṭhakathās.
3. Sōdō Mori: *Pāli Bukkyō chūshaku bunken no kenkyū Aṭṭhakathā no Jyōzabu-teki yōsō* (or) *A Study of the Pāli Commentaries, Theravādic Aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās*, Tokyo: Sankibo 1984, pp. 309—466.
4. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London: PTS (first published 1937-38 2 vols.
5. E. W. Adikaram: *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1953 (First Impression 1946).
6. Although we can see in various editions of Pāli text different spellings of his name such as "Mahā Siva", "Mahā Sīva", "Mahāsiva", "Mahāsiva", etc. it is standardized as "Mahāsīva" in this article.
7. N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., tr.: *The Inception of Discipline and the Vinaya Nidāna*, London: Luzac 1962, pp. 180-82. Cf. VA (PTS) pp. 61—63.
8. H. Oldenberg, ed., Vin, London 1883, Vol. V, 21.
9. This passage is briefer than those in the other sources listed here, but it gives a reference to DA, which is included here, a more detailed statement.
10. The confusions of spelling between "G" and "V", and between "nt" and "tt" are probably caused by the striking similarity between 'ṃ' (ga) and 'ṇ' (va) in the Burmese script and 'ṃ' (na) and 'ṇ' (ta) in the Sinhalese script.
11. As for the dates of the reigns of the kings of Sri Lanka, those given in "A Chronological List of Ceylon Kings" composed by Paranavitana, which is contained in *University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon* (Colombo 1961, pp. 341-46) are adopted in the present article.
12. Originally "Vāmanta" as already discussed.
13. Mhv chap. XXXII vv. 29—30, 49—54.
 Cf. H. Ellawala: *Social History of Early Ceylon*, Dept. of Cultural Affairs, Sri Lanka 1969, p. 133.

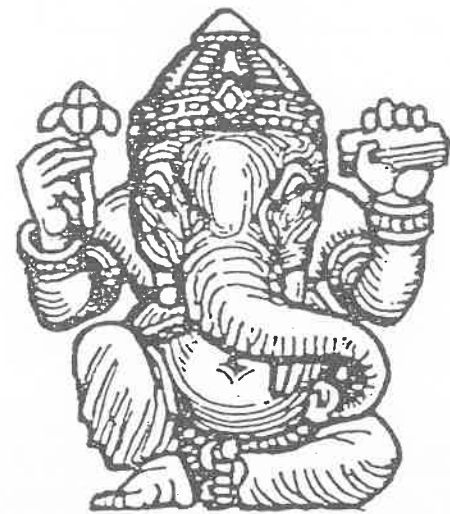
14. MhvT II—606.
15. Originally "Vāmatṭa" as already discussed.
16. The footnote (13) shows a variant, Mālāya Mahā-Deva.
17. Mhv chap XXXII, v. 53.
18. Mhv chap. XXX, vv. 46 ff.
19. His name is never referred to in the Aṭṭhakathās, so that he is not listed in this article.
20. VA III—711.
21. *ibid.*
22. Any names prefixed to Mahāsīva are all omitted here.
23. He is referred to several times only in VA (III—646f ; V—1047, 1101 ; VI—1166).
24. DAT(III—79f.) comments: *Therasallāpo ti therānaṃ sallāpasadisō vinicchayavādo* ("Discussion of elders" is the point of agreement in elders' discussion.)
25. The word "vihāra" is supplied on the basis of a comment of DAT (III—80): "*Kāḷhālāvāsīti Kāḷhālavihāravāsī.*"
26. DA III—727 ff.
27. DhsA p. 405 ; MNidA II—346.
28. DA III—881 ; SA III—211f.
29. DhsA p. 200f.
30. VA V—1138.
31. DA II—511 ; AA IV—28 ; PtsA I—112 ; CNidA p. 60f.
32. DA III—1013 ; AA III—51 ; CNidA p. 122.
33. MA I—301.
34. DA II—375.
35. DA III—882f.
36. Cf. P. V. Bapat, R. D. Vadekar, (ed.) : *Aṭṭhasālinī*, Poona 1942, p. 215.
37. Vis II—398 ; VA III—699 ; IV—892 ; DA III—744 ; MA I—230 ; V—103 ; SA II—276 ; III—264, 277 ; AA I—26 ; II—133 ; V—48 ; PtsA III—574 ; DhsA pp. 229, 230, 266, 267, 284 ; VibhA pp. 16, 342, 452 ; PugA pp. 190, 223.
38. He is referred to in Vis I—69, 96 ; II—394 ; VA III—591 ; DA II—442, 530 ; MA I—155 ; IV—94, 148, 189 ; SA III—230, 264, 277 ; AA I—26 ; II—24 ; DhsA p. 230 ; VibhA pp. 11, 16, 457 ; PugA pp. 190, 223.
39. See n. 37.
40. He is referred to in DA II—514 (as Tepiṭaka-Culla-Sumanatthera). Cf. DA (SHB Vol. 4) p. 353, l.21. ; DA (Burmese Chatṭhasaṅgāyanā edition) II—104, l.27.
41. He is referred to in DA III—744f. (as Tipiṭaka-Cūlasuma <or culla-summa>-tthera) ; MA I—230 (as Tipiṭaka-Culla-Summatthera).
42. He is referred to in AA II—311 (as Tepiṭakatissatthera).

43. He is referred to in VA III—695.
44. He is referred to in PtsA III—574 ; DhsA p. 267 ; PugA p. 190. Cf. VA I—55, 64, 67 ; ThagA II—229 ; Vis I—90 ; DhsA pp. 278, 286, 287 ; VibhA p. 81.
45. He is referred to in, VibhA pp. 449-52.
46. N. A. Jayawickrama op. cit. (in n, 7) 181. Cf. VA (PTS) I—63.
47. *ibid.* p. 181 f. Cf. VA (PTS) I—62f.
48. *ibid.* pp. 56, 107 (the section 63 n. 5).
49. M. Nagai (tr.) : *Issai zenken ritsu chū jo or Japanese Translation of the Bāhiraṇidāna in the Samantapāsādikā, the Nanden daizōkyō* Vol. 65, Tokyo : Dazō shuppan 1941, p. 80.
50. I. B. Horner, (tr.) : *The Book of the Discipline. Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Vol. VI London : Luzac 1966, p. 6.
51. As is clear from passage No. 9 in the above list, an elder named Sīva is recorded in the Ācariya-paramparā as a specialist in the Vinaya, yet he is called Sīva, not Mahāsīva.

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Sodō MORI

The Chronology of the Sīhalavatthupparakāṇa

I

The Sīhalavatthupparakāṇa in Pāli (henceforth Sīh) is a Buddhist narrative which contains plenty of historical accounts. In a broad sense it is a sort of Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature and is classified in the same group as the Dasa-
vatthupparakāṇa, Sahassavatthupparakāṇa, Rasavāhinī, etc., i.e., the so-called 'vaṃsakathā'.

Since the publication of the critical edition of the Sīh by Rev. A.P. Buddhaddatta in 1959 ¹⁾, scholars including myself have been interested in this text and have published some studies on it mainly in Japanese and partial translations into Japanese ²⁾. It was, however, the Romanized text with its introduction and full translation into French by Dr. Jacqueline Ver Eecke (now Filliozat) in 1980 ³⁾ that marked a new stage in this study. In 1983, I wrote a detail-

edreview article in Japanese on this book ⁴⁾ along with Ver Eecke's previous one, le Dasavatthupparakaraṇa ⁵⁾. In my first article on Sīh in 1972 ⁶⁾, I examined all the proper names which appear in the text, specifically the names of persons and places, and discussed chiefly the date (and place) in which the text was finally composed. Among many individuals referred to in the present text, King Mahāsenā in ancient Sri Lanka (reign: 276-303 A.D.) ⁷⁾ was the last whose period could be identified. On the other hand Buddhādatta stated, in the introduction to his edition mentioned above, that this work seemed to have been compiled before the time of Buddhaghosa, and that as it was compiled in a period when the Pāli scholarship was not of a very high standard, we find here some grammatical mistakes and peculiar phrases. After this statement, he supplied several words as example. His opinion reminded me of the Dīpavamsa which is also regarded to have been written in 'poor Pāli', and which had definitely been compiled before the time of Buddhaghosa, i.e. before the first half of the fifth century, since it is quoted in Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā and Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī ⁸⁾. With the above two examples as evidence, I concluded at that time that the Sīh was finally compiled in Sri Lanka at some time between Mahāsenā and Buddhaghosa, that is in the fourth century. This conclusion of mine is very similar to Parānavitana's view

that the Sīh appears to be earlier in date than the works of Buddhaghosa, as well as the Dīpavamsa ⁹⁾.

Yet my above view was critically referred to in passing by Dr. Filliozat (: Ver Eecke) ¹⁰⁾ and Mr. K. R. Norman ¹¹⁾. After having studied the Sīh, I proceeded to a study of the main body of Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature as a whole ¹²⁾, and investigated for many years various philological aspects including chronological characteristics of the whole texts. I examined not only the chronology of the present Pāli commentaries, but also that of their original sources, especially of their 'Sīhala sources', and came to what seemed a reasonable conclusion ¹³⁾. In comparison with this conclusion (infra), I was considering, before being aware of the above two scholars' doubt, that it was necessary to alter my previous view about the date of compilation of the Sīh: the reference to King Mahāsenā in the text does not indicate the lower limit for the date of its compilation, but the lower limit for the original source materials from which the present Sīh was derived (cf. my Japanese review article upon Ver Eecke's book already mentioned ¹⁴⁾, which seems to have drawn no particular attention from Ver Eecke and Norman). Such being the present research situation, in this article I shall chiefly discuss some chronological aspects of the Sīh.

II

As is well-known, the Sīh as we have it consists of 77 stories in total. Nevertheless, according to the Table of Contents given in Buddhadatta's edition (p.135), the text seems to have originally had 82 stories at least. The majority of them are stories relating to Sri Lanka, while the rest (only 9 or so) are stories concerning India, Surāṭṭha in particular (Saurāṣṭra, the present Kathiawar district in western India). The first 45 stories distributed in 5 chapters (originally 50 stories in 5 chapters: each chapter had 10 stories) make up, so to speak, the Main Part of the text, and the latter 32 stories form the so-called Continuation. In these stories, there appear names of persons, vihāras, etc. Some of them were already known from such works as the Dīpavamsa, Mahāvamsa, Pāli commentaries in general, etc., but others were unknown. By examining all the known names, particularly those of persons whose dates are traceable, it is possible to bring out some chronological features of the text. The examination is carried out in a chart, where the items corresponding to the following headings will be systematically listed.

- 1) Numbering of the story.

Ax: the number at the head of each story in Buddhadatta's edition. The number in parentheses following Ax indicates that given at the end of each story, when different

from the first one ¹⁵).

Bx: the number given on p.135 in Buddhadatta's edition for the stories from A1 to A50 (i.e. the Main Part); thereafter it refers to the number given at the end of each story.

Cx: the serial number of the story in both editions.
- 2) Style.

The whole Sīh is composed of verse and prose, following different patterns:

A: verse and prose; the prose beginning evam anusuyate is a characteristic feature of this type. A9 is regarded as a variant of A (hence A') because it starts with two lines in verse followed by the prose phrase evam anusuyyate.

B: verse and prose; the beginning is in verse, most of the passages are in verse. A28 starts with the prose phrase evam anusuyyate followed by verses; it is a variant (of an exceptional type) of B (= B').

C: verse only.

D: prose only. Some stories of this group contain a few passages in verse (= D').

- 3) Location of the story: either (Sri) Lanka or India.

For Sri Lanka, Anurādhapura, Rohaṇa, Malaya, Mahāgāma, Nāga-dīpa, and Piyaṅgudīpa are the names of places that often occur.

- 4) Clue person for dating. The kings whose reigning dates

are well-known or some persons whose epochs can be traced while investigating their relations with the kings give a clue for dating the text. As a rule, only one such clue will be mentioned for each story with the necessary explanation. In the following three cases, however, no key person can be referred to: (i) no name is concretely given to the persons who appear in the story (only anonymous persons intervene); (ii) the names are entirely unknown; (iii) several persons bearing the same name are known, which makes identification quite impossible.

Main Part

Chapter I.

. A1 (B3, C1); A -- Lanka -- King Saddhātissa (reigning years: 137-119 B.C.). As for the king, see PPN, SPC 373.

. A2 (B4, C2); A -- Lanka -- Haritāla(gāma)-Tissa. He again appears in story A3 together with king Saddhātissa: thus he can be regarded as a contemporary of this ruler.

. A3 (B5, C3); A -- Lanka -- King Saddhātissa.

. A4(6) (B6, C4); A -- Lanka (Rohaṇa district in southern Lanka) -- Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissathera, probably a contemporary of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.

An elder named Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissa who resided at Gāmendavālavihāra in Rohaṇa appears once in Mp ¹⁶⁾ according to which he ordained Milakkhatissa; from this it can be deduced that he lived in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī ¹⁷⁾. Very

probably, the Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissa of A4 is the same as Gāmendavālavihāravāsi-Cūḷapiṇḍapātika-Tissathera.

. A5(7) (B7, C5); A -- Lanka- King Tissa (= Saddhātissa?). The Sinhalese king here called Tissa lives in the Tusita world. According to Mhv (XXXII 80) ant to story A3 of Sīh, it is king Saddhātissa who, after his death, was reborn in the Tusita. The belief that Saddhātissa was born again in the Tusita seems to have been very popular in ancient Sri Lanka.

. A6 (B8, C8); A -- Lanka -- Phussadevatthera residing at the Kāḷakandharavihāra, in the period of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Several Phussadevattheras (whose vihāras vary slightly in spelling) are found in various texts: Kaṭakanara (Sīh), Kaṭa-andhakāra (or Kaṭa-antakāra, Sp 1335, but 'Phussaratthera in the PTS ed.), Kālandhakāra (Sārasaṅgaha-p.33), Kālakandha (Saddharamaratnakāra), Kaṭakandhakāra (Ja, Vism variants; Kaṭa-andhakāra and Kaṭakandara in Vism). W. Rahu-la regarded them all as one person whom he considers to be a son of king Saddhātissa's sister (i.e. also Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's sister), following a statement available only in the Sahassavatthu ¹⁸⁾. After a thorough examination, I could conclude that at least the Phussadeva of Ja and Vism must have been a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī ¹⁹⁾. Therefore if Phussadeva of the present story is identifiable with the elder of the same name in Ja and Vism, then he can be a

contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.

. A7 (B9, C7); A -- Lanka -- King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (reigning 161-137 B.C.).

. A8 (B10, C8); A -- Lanka -- King Saddhātissa.

Chapter II.

. A9(11) (B11, C9); A -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A10(12) (B12, C10); A -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A13 (B13, C11); A -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A14 (B14, C12); A -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A15 (B15, C13); A -- Lanka -- King Saddhātissa.

. A16 (B16, C14); A -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A17 (B17, C15); A -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A18 (B18, C16); A -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A19 (B19, C17); A -- Surāṭṭha, India -- no clue person.

. A20 (B20, C18); A -- Surāṭṭha, India -- Siggavatthera in the period of King Asoka. Siggava was the master of Moggaliputta-Tissatthera ²⁰, a well-known elder in the time of King Asoka: hence Siggava can be regarded as contemporaneous with the same king.

Chapter III.

. A21 (B21, C19); A -- Surāṭṭha, India -- no clue person.

. A22 (B22, C20); A -- Surāṭṭha, India -- no clue person.

. A23 (B23, C21); A -- Surāṭṭha, India -- no clue person.

. A24 (B24, C22); A -- Surāṭṭha, India -- Dhammarāja = King Asoka (?). In A27 king Asoka is called 'Asoka Dhammarāja'.

Thus our Dhammarāja can be regarded as an abridged name of Asoka Dhammarāja.

. A25 (B25, C23); A -- India (?) -- no clue person.

. A26 (B26, C24); A -- Gandhāra, NW India -- no clue person.

. A27(30) (B30, C25); A -- India -- Asoka Dhammarāja (reign: 268-233 B.C.).

Chapter IV.

. A28(31) (B31, C26); B' -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A29(32) (B32, C27) -- B -- Lanka -- King Saddhātissa.

. A33 (B33, C28); B -- Lanka -- King Saddhātissa.

. A34 (B34, C29); B -- Lanka -- Kuṭumbiyaputtatissatthera in the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. As to his date see my article ²¹.

. A35 (B35, C30); B -- Lanka -- Saddhātissa-mahārāja: king Saddhātissa.

. A36 (B36, C31); B -- Lanka -- Saddhātissa-mahārāja.

. A37 (B37, C32); B -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A38 (B38, C33); B -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A39 (B39, C34); B -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A40 (B40, C35); B -- Lanka -- Saddhātissa-mahārāja.

Chapter V.

. A41 (B41, C36); C -- Lanka -- Māleyya-devatthera in the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī; Piyaṅgudipavāsi-Tissatthera in the reign of king Saddhātissa.

As for Māleyya-deva (whose spelling varies as Maliya(Mahā)-

deva, etc. in Pāli commentaries), see my article ²²). He again occurs in the next story of Sīh together with Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. In addition, a Piyaṅgudīpavāsi-Tissa also appears in story A8 along with Saddhātissa: he must have lived in this king's reign. Accordingly, this story can be placed during the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and his successor, Saddhātissa.

. A42 (B42, C37); C -- Lanka -- king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya.

. A43 (B43, C38); C -- Lanka -- king Saddhātissa.

. A44 (B 44, C39); C -- Lanka -- Tambasumanatthera in the period of Saddhātissa. According to Ras, he was once a minister of this king ²³).

. A45 (B45, C40); C -- Lanka -- king Saddhātissa.

. A46 (B46, C41); C -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A47 (B47, C42); C -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A48 (B48, C43); C -- Lanka -- king Kākavaṇṇatissa (reign 161 B.C.) and Vihāradevī, viz. the parents of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa. Kākavaṇṇatissa did not rule over the whole Sri Lanka, but in the southern area only: he is usually not included in the list of Sinhalese kings ²⁴).

. A49 (B49, C44); C -- Lanka -- Sālikumāra, the only son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī ²⁵).

. A50 (B50, C45); C -- Lanka(?) -- no clue person.

Continuation

. A51 (B1, C46); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A52 (B2, C47); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A53 (B3, C48); D -- Lanka -- king Saddhātissa.

. A54 (B4, C49); D -- Lanka -- king Saddhātissa.

. A55 (B5, C50); D -- Pāṭaliputta, India -- no clue person.

. A56 (B6, C51); D -- Lanka -- Tissa-mahārāja, (king Saddhātissa) ²⁶).

. A57 (B7, C52); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A58 (B8, C53); D -- Lanka -- nothing clear. N.B. This story occurs during a famine, possibly the one in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (cf. A59). This story can then be assigned to the reign of the same king.

. A59 (B9, C54); D' -- Lanka -- Yonaka-Dhammarakkhitatthera in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Two elders with this name lived in ancient India. One was a disciple of Assagutta-tthera and the master of Tissatthera (the younger brother of king Asoka, who was sent by the king to Aparantaka on a Buddhist mission); the second is the elder who attended the completion ceremony for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lanka in the period of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. As the story A59 begins with the following passage:

Sīhaladīpe dubbhikkhe ekamhi setthikule sabbe janā Malayam gacchanti, it is obvious that it takes place during a famine in Sri Lanka. Four serious famines are known to have

occured in ancient Sri Lanka, one of them in Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's reign (the others during the reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, Kuñcanāga, and Siri Saṅghabodhi). From the above we are able to conclude that Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita described in the present story was a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī ²⁷).

. A60 (B10, C55); D -- Lanka -- king Saddhātissa.

. A61 (B11, C56); D' -- Lanka -- king Saddhātissa.

. A62 (B12, C57); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A63 (B13, C58); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A64 (B14, C59); D' -- Lanka -- nothing clear. It is stated that the story took place during a famine (cf. A58).

Possibly its time can also be the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (cf. A59).

. A65 (B15, C60); D -- Lanka -- Brāhmaṇatīya (or Brāhmaṇatissa) in the period of king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (reigning: 103-102, 89-77 B.C.). Brāhmaṇatīya was a robber who became infamous during the time of confusion and famine under the five Dravidian rulers dominating Anurādhapura between the two reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, i.e. 102-89 B.C. This period is also called the 'Mahābhaya' (great peril) or Brāhmaṇatīya-bhaya (Brāhmaṇatissa-bhaya, Caṇḍāla-tissa-bhaya) ²⁸). The first name is mentioned in the present story.

. A66 (B16, C61); D -- Lanka -- king Mahāsena (reign: 276-303 A.D.).

. A67 (B17, C62); D -- Lanka -- no clue person. This is

the story of a young elder who was named Aṭṭavīvāsi (forest-dweller)-Khuddakatissa. He was apparently different from an elder called Maṅgana(vihāra)vāsi-Khudda(ka)tissa (or Kujja-tissa) who lived in the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa ²⁹). The latter is considered in A82.

. A68 (B18, C63); D -- Lanka -- king Saddhātissa.

. A69 (B19, C64); D' -- Lanka -- Mahāpadumatthera, a contemporary of king Iḷanāga (reign: 35-44 A.D.). There lived several Mahāpadumattheras in ancient Sri Lanka ³⁰). The one who appears in this story was Rohaṇavāsi-Mahāpadumatthera. According to Mhv XXXV 29ff., he was active in the period of Iḷanāga.

. A70 (B20, C65); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A71 (B21, C66); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A72 (B22, C67); D -- Lanka -- no clue person. The date for this story is unclear. Yet the names of Malayavāsi-Mahāsaṅgharakkhitatthera and Cittalapabbatavāsi-Dīghabhāṇaka-Aḍḍhayatthera are referred to in the story. They both lived in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī ³¹). Accordingly the date for this story can be regarded as being closely connected with this king's reign.

. A73 (B23, C68); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A74 (B24, C69); D -- Lanka -- Rohaṇatthera in the period of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī(?). In this story, an elder named Rohaṇa is described as having worked to attain Arhantship. On

the other hand, the Mhv ³²⁾ records a person also called Rohaṇatthera who was the father of Theraputta-abhaya, one of the main retainers of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī ³³⁾, who joined the Order and also gained Arhantship. If these two Rohaṇas are identical, then the thera of A74 was contemporaneous with the above king.

. A75 (B25, C70); D -- Lanka -- Brāhmaṇatīya in the period of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. This story starts with the following passage: Sihaladīpe Brāhmaṇatīyaṃ nāma Dvādasavassāni dubbhikkham ahosi ³⁴⁾: cf. A65.

. A76 (B26, C71); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A77 (B27, C72); D -- Lanka -- king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.

. A78 (B28, C73); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A79 (B29, C74); D -- Lanka (or India?) -- no clue person.

With regard to the country Dakkhiṇāgiri(mahā)viṇhāra is the only key: a viṇhāra with this name existed both in India and Sri Lanka. The one in India was in a place named Ekaṇālā in Dakkhiṇāgiri district, the southern area from Rājagaha ³⁵⁾. The viṇhāra in Sri Lanka was established in Anurādhapura by Saddhātissa. ³⁶⁾ I consider that the viṇhāra of the present story was the one in Sri Lanka.

. A80 (B30, C75); D -- Lanka -- Brāhmaṇatīya Abhaya in the time of king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī.

. A81 (B31, C76); D -- Lanka -- no clue person.

. A82 (B32, C77); D -- Lanka -- Khuddakatissatthera in the

successive reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa: cf. A67. He was an inhabitant of Maṅganaviṇhāra and was active in the reigns of the above two kings ³⁷⁾. Incidentally, another elder named Vyagghatthera also occurs in this story: he is probably the same as Mahāvyagghatthera who can be regarded as having lived in the same two reigns ³⁸⁾.

III

From the above analysis of all the stories of Sīh, we are able to make the following remarks:

(1) It appears that this text is derived from several kinds of oral or written sources. It is worth noting the differences in the stylistic patterns. A1-27, i.e. all the 25 stories of Chapters I-III in the Main Part are composed in verse and prose and start with the passage evam anusuyate (= A, A'). All the 10 stories of Chapter IV (A28-40) are composed mostly (but not entirely) in verses (= B, B'). All the stories of Chapter V are entirely written in verse (= C). The remaining 32 stories all belong to the Continuation and are written in prose only (= D, D'). Thus all the 77 stories of Sīh can be classified under four stylistic types, which are not mixed, but kept separate and arranged principally chapter by chapter or part by part. This classification (A-D) cannot be regarded as merely haphazard: it clearly suggests that these four groups of stories were derived from different original transmissions.

(2) The great majority of stories are located in Sri Lanka. In particular this is the case for stories included in the Continuation except for one (A55). This suggests that the Sīh was finally compiled in Sri Lanka. The Indian stories form a minority and are almost all collected in the last part of Chapter II and also in the whole of Chapter III, i.e. in the last part of the group of stories marked as A (A'). Most of them are located in Surāṭṭha district in western India (A19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24). The remaining ones are located in Gandhāra district (A26) and Pāṭaliputta, the capital of the Asokan kingdom (A27, 55). In addition, it is to be noted that the name of Andhakarajja in South East India occurs only once (A65), although the location of this story itself is Sri Lanka.

West India is commonly regarded as the area from where the Pāli language originated, and from where Theravāda Buddhism and its Pāli scriptures were transmitted into early Sri Lanka for the first time. But Mr.K.R.Norman recently discussed the following ³⁹⁾:

"It has been claimed in the case of Pāli that as there are resemblances between it and the Gīrṇār dialect of the Asokan inscriptions, and also between it and the language of the Hāthigumphā inscriptions, Pāli must have been the language of one or other of these two areas. A careful examination of the language of these inscriptions shows that Pāli is not

identical with either of them..."

His discussion, however, does not deny a possibility that Pāli originated in West India, but only shows that any adequate evidence from a linguistic point of view concerning the question of the original area of Pāli has as yet been unobtainable. On the other hand, there is much historical and legendary evidence that a Theravādin Buddhism with Pāli as its scriptural language originated in West India, and was transmitted from this area to ancient Sri Lanka. The present Sīh consists of stories located in Sri Lanka in the first development, and of stories located in Surāṭṭha district (western India) in the second one; it can be looked upon as an important textual evidence proving the very close Buddhist relation between these two regions in early times. I do not consider this as resulting from mere chance.

(3) As for the Indian persons appearing in the stories, only king Asoka (A27, 24 ?) and his contemporary, Siggavattthera (A20) have been identified so far.

(4) As for the Sri Lankan people found in the text, it has so far been made clear that in 42 out of 45 Sri Lankan stories of the Main Part, Sri Lankans from 22 stories can be identified. They are either king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (A7,42) or king Saddhātissa (A1, 3, 5?, 8, 15, 29, 33, 35, 36, 40, 43, 45) or contemporaries of one or of both kings (parents, son, retainers, elders, etc. A2, 4, 6, 34, 41, 44, 48, 49).

In particular Saddhātissa appears in 11 or 12 stories, the largest number of references to one individual. These two kings were brothers who lived in the same period, and reigned successively. Therefore their two reigns can be regarded as one period, lasting about half a century, from the middle of the second century B.C. Thus all the Sri Lankans identified in the Main Part are persons belonging to that period only.

For the Continuation consisting of 32 stories in total, Sri Lankans from 18 stories can be identified (of these 18, those of A58, 64, 74 are more or less vague). Among these identified persons, Saddhātissa again occurs most frequently (A53, 54, 56, 60, 61, 68). He and his elder brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (A77) together with their contemporaries (A58?, 59, 64?, 74?, 82) make up the great majority as in the case of the Main Part. The second largest number concerns Brāhmaṇatīya, a contemporary of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (A65, 75, 80, cf. 72). Besides them, a contemporary of king Iḷanāga, and king Mahāsena himself appear once (A66, 69). All these individuals other than Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Saddhātissa and their contemporaries, do not occur in the Main Part, and they are all later than Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa. In particular king Mahāsena is the latest of all: he stands for the lower time limit of the whole text.

Next, comparison of the above findings with those of the

Pāli Aṭṭhakathās as a whole leads to very interesting and suggestive remarks. I have examined all the Sri Lankan people (including some Indians who were active in Sri Lanka) occurring in all the Aṭṭhakathās ⁴⁰⁾ and have tried to pinpoint their dates as exactly as possible. Identification of these individuals could be carried out fairly successfully in spite of the fact that they could be known through different names or that other persons could have identical names. Their dates could be deduced despite many difficulties by searching from direct and indirect connections with Sinhalese kings, whose reigning dates are generally reliable. To my knowledge, the Sri Lankan people appearing in the Pāli commentaries amount to 188 in total, of which 128 could be dated (the remaining 60 being left undated). The 128 datable Sri Lankans can be classified basically according to the reign during which they lived. A few continuous or parallel reigns isolated from others can be considered as one period, and are grouped together here. The following list results from the above analysis:

(O. The first five kings before Devānampiyatissa: 5)

1. Devānampiyatissa (250-210 B.C.)	19	
2. Elāra	1	
(Kākavaṇṇatissa in the South -161 B.C.)	4	45
Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161-137 B.C.)	37	
Saddhātissa (137-119 B.C.)	3	

3. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (103-102, 89-77 B.C.)	32	
(including the five Dravidian rulers)		
4. Coranāga (62-50 B.C.)	1	
5. Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa (41-19 B.C.)	7	
Bhātika Abhaya (19 B.C.-9 A.D.)	5	16
Mahādāyika Mahānāga (9-21 A.D.)	4	
6. Candamukha Siva (44-52 A.D.)	1	
7. Vasabha (65-109 A.D.)	8	
8. Mahāsenā (276-303 A.D.)	1	

In the above list ⁴¹⁾, the first five persons must not be treated on the same level as the others, for they are only once referred to together in a single passage describing the legendary origin of the Sinhalese dynasty and its royal descendants, in the Bāhiraṇidāna of the Samantapāsādikā ⁴²⁾. In addition, their deeds and sayings are not recorded (unlike those of almost all the other persons). The Bāhiraṇidāna is a specific section which states the earliest history of this dynasty as well as that of Theravādin Buddhism in Lanka, based upon the same common source as that of such chronicles as the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvamsa. Incidentally, the dates of these five kings' reigns are left blank in Paranavitana's list of the kings (to show that they are uncertain).

On the basis of the remaining part of the list, the following remarks can be added.

(1) The upper time limit is the reign of king Devānampiyatissa, that is the upper date limit of the Sīhaḷa sources (the so-called Sīhaḷa Aṭṭhakathā literature) of the Pāli commentaries. It was, without doubt, in the reign of this king that Buddhism was officially first imported from West India into ancient Sri Lanka by Mahinda and his party.

(2) The lower time limit is the reign of king Mahāsenā, that is the lower date limit of the same sources, though the main body of them seems to have been composed by the time of king Vasabha, and to have ceased developing afterwards.

(3) As regards some intermediate aspects of these sources between the above two limit periods, the largest number of persons (45) belongs to the period of the four successive or parallel reigns of kings: Eḷāra, Kākavaṇṇatissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa, of which Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's reign claims the largest figure. The second largest number (32) is concentrated in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī; and the third (16) is concentrated in the time of the successive reigns of the three kings headed by Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa ⁴³⁾. It is agreed that in these periods, Buddhism was generally prosperous in Sri Lanka and very active in every respect, and the nation was peaceful and well governed. On the other hand, the periods of the kings whose names disappear in the above list, can be considered as those in which

Buddhism was on the decline, and the nation suffered disturbances. Pāli chronicles tell almost nothing about these days. It is quite obvious that the chronological aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās detailed above do not concern the Aṭṭhakathās themselves (by Buddhaghosa, etc.), but the original source materials upon which they are based, viz. the "Sīhaḷa sources" or "Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā literature".

IV

To return to the Sīh, when we compare the features of this text with those of the Sīhaḷa sources for the Aṭṭhakathās it is easy to identify some common or similar aspects between the two.

(1) The upper date limits are identical: the upper date limit of Sīh is Asoka's reign (268-232 B.C.), that of the Sīhaḷa sources is Devānampiyatissa's reign (250-210 B.C.).

(2) The lower date limits also match up: they correspond with the reign of king Mahāsenā.

(3) Some intermediate aspects between the two above date limits also show certain similarities:

(a) The respective periods to which the largest number of persons belong are the 50-60 years centred upon the successive reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Saddhātissa.

(b) The respective periods in which the second largest number of persons is concentrated also correspond: these

are the duration of the two reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, including the intervening period of the five Dravidian rulers, when Brāhamaṇatīya became infamous. On the other hand, the lower date limit (the reign of king Mahāsenā) is congruent with that of the Sri Lankan chronicles, which can be regarded as part of the Aṭṭhakathā literature in a wider sense: the Dīpavamsa ends with the reign of the same king, the first part of the Mahāvamsa also ends with the record of the same period, although these two works (especially the latter) were compiled much later than the above reign. Therefore the time of king Mahāsenā (276-303 A.D.) forms the latest lower date limit for the final formation of the Sīhaḷa sources for the whole Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature (I mean the Pāli commentarial texts including the Visuddhimagga, the Sīh, some chronicles, etc.). The agreement of this date limit cannot be a mere coincidence. As previously stated, the appearance of Mahāsenā as the latest datable individual in the Sīh does not date the composition of this text by Dhammanandi, but rather it dates the final formation by unknown person(s) of the source materials for the text as we have it. These materials must have been preserved unchanged after the above period until the time when the author making use of them composed the present Sīh in Pāli.

I have mainly compared some of the chronologically common or similar features between the Sīh and the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās

in general. This comparison is made possible on the premise that these two kinds of texts originated, in part at least, from common sources, and contain certain similar or parallel passages and contexts. Therefore it is necessary as a next step to investigate such textual relations between these two. In fact the above premise could be fully proved. As this task requires, however, ample space to be assigned to it, I would like to take up this problem in another article along with some other remarks on the text under consideration as early as possible ⁴⁴).

NOTES

- * I am grateful to Miss B.A. Scott, a British visiting professor at the Women's Junior College of Jōsai University (Japan) for having looked over my English in this article.
- The references to Pāli texts are to PTS editions unless otherwise specified. Abbreviations follow A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen, 1924-. Additional abbreviations:
- . EHBC: E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo, 1953 (first impression 1946).
 - . HBC: W. Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon. Colombo, 1956.
 - . IBK: Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Tokyo).

- . JBFKU: Journal of the Buddhist Faculty of Komazawa University (Tokyo).
 - . JBS: Journal of Buddhist Studies (Hammatsu).
 - . JSH: Jōsai Studies in the Humanities (Saitama).
 - . JSSR: Journal of the Sōtō Sect Researchers (Tokyo).
 - . PEFEO: Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
 - . PL: K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature. Wiesbaden, 1983 (A History of Indian Literature, ed. by J. Gonda. Vol.VII, Fasc. 2).
 - . SPC: S. Mori, A Study of the Pāli Commentaries. Theravādic Aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās. Tokyo, 1984 (in Japanese).
 - . UCHC: H.C.Roy et alii, University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon. Colombo, 1959-.
1. A.P. Buddhadatta, ed., Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa, Colombo, 1959.
 2. (1) S. Paranavitana, Ceylon and Malaysia. Colombo, 1966, 3-6, etc.; (2) M. Kitsudo, "On the Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa" (I), IBK XVIII.1.1969.142-143; (3) M.Kitsudo, "Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa and Lokappadīpakasāra", IBK IXX.2.1971.330-332; (4) S.Mori, "On the Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa", IBK XXI.1.1972. 429-436; (5) S. Mori, "Some Documental Characteristics of the Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa", Indian Thought and Buddhism. Felicitation Volume presented to Professor Dr. Hajime Nakamura. Tokyo, 1973.309-322; (6) S. Mori, "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa(I): Chapter I, Stories 1-2, JSSR 5.1973.191-202; (7) S.Mori,

"A Japanese Translation and Notes of the Sīhalavatthupparakaraṇa"(II): Chapter I, Stories 3-5", JSH 1.1973.80-101; (8) I. Katayama, "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the Sīhalavatthupparakaraṇa (I): Chapter II, Stories 11-18, JBFKU 6.1975.169-189; (9) I. Katayama, "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the Sīhalavatthupparakaraṇa (II): Chapter II, Stories 19-20", JBFKU 7.1976.217-231; (10) M. Kitsudo, "A Study of Dāna in the Sīhalavatthupparakaraṇa", Bulletin of Sugiyama Women's College 9, Part 1. 1-7. All these writings except No. (1) are in Japanese.

3. J. Ver Eecke, Le Sīhalavatthupparakaraṇa. Texte pāli et traduction. Paris, 1980 (PEFEO CXXIII). As far as the original text is concerned, this edition is basically the same as that of Buddhadatta. Although the editor tried to find out undiscovered manuscripts of the text for a new revised edition, she could not obtain any.

4. JSH 10. 1983. 147-168.

5. J. Ver Eecke, Le Dasavatthupparakaraṇa. Edité et traduit. Paris, 1976 (PEFEO CVII).

6. See above n.2 (4).

7. As to the dates of the reigns of the kings of Sri Lanka, which are absolutely essential for the historical studies of any subject concerning ancient and mediaeval Sri Lanka, those given in "A Chronological List of Ceylon Kings" com-

posed by S. Paranavitana, which is contained in the University of Ceylon, A Concise History of Ceylon. Colombo, 1961 1961. 341-346, are adopted in the present article as the most recent one, although Geiger's "List of Sinhalese Kings" in his English translation of the Cūlavamsa (Colombo, 1929, Part II. viii-xv) seems to be still popular in Europe. Cf. S. Mori, "Review on F. Lottermoser's Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa", JBS 15.1985.137-138; S. Mori, SPC 319-338.

8. Sp I 74,75f.; Kv-a 3ff.; SPC 140ff.

9. S. Paranavitana, op.cit. (in n.2 (1)), 3.

10. J. Ver Eecke, op.cit. (in n.3), introduction ii, cf. xxxiv.

11. K.R. Norman, PL 154.

12. This refers here to the primary commentaries on the Pāli Canon and also to the Visuddhimagga.

13. S. Mori, SPC 309-466.

14. S. Mori, op.cit. (in n.4), 157-159.

15. Incidentally, Ver Eecke's edition follows a slightly different system: it is a mixture of these two numberings (p. 192, Table des récits).

16. Mp I 36. Cf. S. Mori, "Chronology of the 'Sīhala Sources' for the Pāli Commentaries (I)", JBS 16.1987.168f.

17. As to Milakkhatissa, Spk I 332; Mp I 35, 49; Pj II 236. Cf. Spk II 273f., my article (mentioned n.16), 177.
18. Rahula, HBC xxxiif.
19. S. Mori, op.cit. (in n.16), 171f.
20. Mhv V 120-151; Dīp V 57, 68, 106; Sp 32, 235. Cf. As 32.
21. S. Mori, op. cit. (in n.16), 168.
22. Ibidem 173.
23. PPN II 1347.
24. S. Mori, op. cit. (n.16), 165. Cf. PPN.
25. Mhv XXXIII 1. Cf. PPN.
26. As regards the discussion that Tissamahārāja was none other than King Saddhātissa, see SPC 373.
27. S. Mori, op.cit. (in n.16), 177f.; SPC 378f.; H. Ellawala, Social History of Early Ceylon. Sri Lanka, 1969.133.
28. Mhv XXXIII 37ff.: Mhv-ṭ II 613; Sv II 535; Ps II 399; Mp III 343; Vibh-a 445f.. Cf UC, HC I, Part I. 165- 167; PPN; SPC 379, 384.
29. SPC 352f.; PPN; EHBC 67.
30. PPN refers to eight Mahāpadumas altogether; the majority of them are Sri Lankans. Cf. SPC 386, 405, 444.
31. SPC 382, 387.

32. Mhv XXIII 55ff.
33. Ibidem XXIII 2, 63ff.; XXVI 2; XXXII 48ff.
34. It is also stated in the Rasavāhinī that this famine continued for twelve years: Ellawala, op. cit. (in n.27), 133.
35. As for this vihāra, see S I 172; Spk I 242; Vin I 80; B.N Chaudhury, Buddhist Centres in Ancient India. Calcutta, 1969. 115f.
36. Mhv XXXIII 7.
37. S. Mori, op. cit. (in n.16), 167f.
38. Ibidem, 176.
39. K. R. Norman, PL 4.
40. S. Mori, op. cit. (in n.16) and its continuation, JBS 17.1988 (in the press); cf. SPC 309-466.
41. S. Mori, JBS 17.1988; cf. SPC 457-466.
42. Sp 72. Among these five kings, only Muṭasiva's name is referred to at two other places also in the Bāhiranidāna, but these references to him are made as nothing else than the father of king Devānampiyatissa.
43. As in the case of the first five persons before Devānampiyatissa, the nineteen persons in the period of Devānampiyatissa should also be further examined: out of the nine-

teen, fourteen appear in the Bāhiraṇidāna only, and the remaining five are referred to in various places of many Aṭṭhakathā texts. Consequently the number of persons belonging to this period should be regarded as only five. Cf. n.42.

44. The continuation of the present article, under the title of "Sīhaḷavattuppakarana and Pāli Aṭṭhakathā Literature" will appear in the Journal of the Society for the Study of Pāli and Buddhist Culture. Nagoya, 1.1988, now in preparation.

Alain CHRISTOL	Les huttes cosmiques
Aharon FATTAL	Structural Studies in Bhāravi and Māgha
Pierre-S. FILLIOZAT	L'écriture des fractions en sanskrit
Annette FREMONT	<u>Euruśaski baas</u>
Cerdi GERSCHHEIMER	Une branche dissidente des Navya-Naiyāyika
Jean HAUDRY	Les Rbhus et les Alfes
Sodō MORI	The chronology of the <u>Sīhaḷavattuppakarana</u>
Edith NOLOT	<u>Samghāvaśeṣa-</u> , <u>saṃghātiśeṣa-</u> , <u>saṃghādisesa-</u>
K.R. NORMAN	The orthography of the Gīrṇār version of the Aśoka Rock Edicts
Eric PIRART	<u>Pathyā Svastī</u>
A.K. RAMANUJAN	Le sanskrit et les langues maternelles
Josephine REYNELL	Laywomen's religiosity amongst the Jains
Shiv Kumar SHARMA	Vijñānabhikṣu on Sāṃkhya Concept of Self
Kenji WATANABE	The expression <u>sabba-vārī-</u> / <u>savva-vāraṃ</u>
Robert J. ZYDENBOS	The Jaina nun Kavuntī

Louis RENOU	Notes sur le <u>Dīghanikāya</u>
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S. BROCCQUET - G. PINAULT	Note de correction à <u>BEI</u> 4.215-53
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BIBLIOGRAPHIE

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Aṭṭhakathā Literature

MORI, Sodō.

SĪHAḶAVATTHUPPAKARAṆA
' and
PĀLI AṬṬHAKATHĀ LITERATURE⁽¹⁾

Sodō MORI

Contents

1. Introduction
2. Comparison with Pāli Commentaries
3. Comparison with Pāli Chronicles
4. Unknown Proper Names
5. Concluding Remarks

1. Introduction

The *Sihāḷavattḥuppakaraṇa*⁽²⁾ is a Buddhist narrative literature which contains plenty of historical accounts concerning ancient Sri Lanka and also India. In a broad sense, it is a sort of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature, and is classified as one of the so-called Vamsakathā texts, the others being the *Dasavattḥuppakaraṇa*, *Sahassavattḥuppakaraṇa*, *Rasavāhinī*, etc. This text was finally composed in Sri Lanka, although it contains not only stories of this country (the majority), but also those of India.

Since 1972, I have published several articles regarding this work including a review and partial translations with notes all in Japanese. Based upon these writings, I recently completed the first English article on this text, entitled "~~A Study~~⁽³⁾ of the *Sihāḷavattḥup-*

The Chronology

pakaraṇa", which has already been contributed to *le Bulletin d'Etudes indiennes* No.5 (Paris 1988). In this article I mainly discussed some chronological aspects of the text on the basis of a detailed investigation of all the proper names appearing in it and specifically the names of persons and places. In addition, I compared the above chronological aspects with those of the *Sihala Sources* (i. e. the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* literature) for the Pāli commentaries.⁽⁴⁾ The latter was first discussed as a whole in a part of my work published in 1984.⁽⁵⁾ This comparison led me to establish the following chronologically common or similar features between the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* and the *Atṭhakathā* texts in general.

(1) The upper date limits are identical: the upper date limit of the former is King Asoka's reign in India (268—232 B.C.); whereas that of the latter is King Devānampiyatissa's reign in Sri Lanka (250—210).⁽⁶⁾ Nevertheless these two kings are of course contemporaneous.

(2) The lower date limits also match up: they correspond with the reign of King Mahāsena (276—303 A.D.).

(3) Some intermediate aspects between the two date limits above also show certain similarities:

(a) The respective periods to which the largest number of persons belonged are the 50—60 years centred upon the successive reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161—137 B.C.) and Saddhātissa (137—119 B.C.).

(b) The respective periods in which the second largest number of persons is concentrated also correspond: these are the duration of the two reigns of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (103—102; 89—77 B.C.) including the intervening period of the five Dravidian rulers, when Brāhmaṇa-tiya became infamous.

(4) The above chronological aspects of the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* are an indication of those of the original source materials of this text as in the case of the *Atṭhakathā* texts; in particular its lower date limit, i.e. the reign of King Mahāsena suggests not the date of composition of the present Pāli texts, but that of the final development of its written or oral sources probably in Old Sinhalese, etc.⁽⁷⁾

As was already stated, however, at the end of my article previously referred to, the above comparison is made possible on the premise that these two kinds of text originated, in part at least, from common sources, and have certain similar or parallel passages and contexts. Therefore it is absolutely necessary as a further step in such studies, to seek out such textual relations existing between these two. The present article will take up initially this question from the point of view explained above. In addition another comparison studied from the same point of view should then be carried out between the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* and Pāli Chronicles such as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*. It goes without saying that these chronicles both written in Pāli verse record royal tradition and Buddhist history in ancient (and mediaeval) Sri Lanka, based upon the common older source usually named the "Porāṇa-Sihalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa" (or "Sihala-Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā") that was formerly preserved at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lanka. However these chronicles are also a kind of Pāli *Atṭhakathā* literature in a wider sense, and display certain similarities with the Pāli commentaries as well as the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā*. For example, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the earliest part of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (i.e. the first part excluding the more

recent part called the *Cūḷavaṃsa*) both end with the record of the reign of King Mahāseṇa, which really corresponds with the lower date limits of the sources of the *Sīhaḷavatthu* and those of the Pāli commentaries as already mentioned. The accordance of these date limits of the sources for all these texts suggests certain common elements of the whole Aṭṭhakathā literature which here refers to the *Sīhaḷavatthu*, Pāli commentarial texts, Pāli chronicles and others. Even in order to adduce the evidence to prove that the above relationship is not the result of a strange coincidence, the following comparisons would be necessary.

2. Comparison with Pāli Commentaries

When we draw a comparison between the *Sīhaḷavatthu* and Pāli commentaries, we are able to discover some instances which show certain similarities regarding the content of a corresponding story in each text. Such contents seem to have originated from identical sources. For instance, Story No.66, Cittaguttatthera-vatthu in the *Sīhaḷavatthu* and an inserted story about the same elder in the *Sīlaniddesa*⁽⁸⁾, the first chapter of the *Visuddhimagga*⁽⁹⁾ are very similar to each other. These stories equally describe him as an eminent elder who strictly fulfilled the restraint of the faculties (*indriyasamvarasīla*) to attain the Arahantship finally. The entire passages of each story run as follows:

Sīhaḷavatthu

There was an elder called Cittagutta⁽¹⁰⁾, resident in the Great Cave at Koraṇḍa. At the door [of the Cave]⁽¹¹⁾, there was an iron-wood tree. The elder had never really craned his neck to look up at

the tree. In the meantime, it shed its leaves; stamen of flowers (*kiṇṇjakkhi*) descended; fruits of flowers fell to the ground; pollen from stamen were scattered. He observed these events [from looking at the ground each time] and realized that it must at that time be such and such a season judging from [the present state] beneath [the tree].

In the cave near the great iron-wood tree, there was [a painting of] the Renunciation of the Seven Buddhas. The elder had never looked at this either, and had lived with the nature of an ordinary person (*puthujjanasabhāva*) for thirty years. Having lived in such a way, he reached the Arahant-ship.

A King named Mahāseṇa requested the elder, "Please take meals in the palace". For six years the elder took meals in the palace. In his last moments, he said to Bhikkhus, "One who has questions about the [Buddhist] Ways, Fruits and Means of Reaching the Goal, question me!" Then Bhikkhus asked [saying], "We ask you, venerable sir, whether or not, taking meals in the palace for so long and seeing the king and queen [so often], you noticed the king [and queen]". The elder replied, "No, I did not notice either of them; I judged them only from their voices". The king and queen paid homage to the elder, and [asked], "What does the elder preach [to us]?" "I tell you, Great King, endure, endure [without your senses]", such was the reply of the elder. He was in this fashion the one who had the doors of the senses guarded.

Visuddhimagga

Moreover a Bhikkhu who is practising the restraint of the faculties should be like the elder Cittagutta, resident in the Great Cave

at Kuraṇḍaka, and like the elder Mahā-Mitta, resident at the Great Monastery of Coraka.

It is told as follows: In the Great Cave of Kuraṇḍaka, there was a lovely painting of the Renunciation of the Seven Buddhas. A number of Bhikkhus wandering among the dwellings saw the painting and said, "What a lovely painting, venerable sir!" The elder said, "For more than sixty years, friends, I have lived in the cave, and I did not know whether there was any painting there or not. Now, today, I know it through those who have eyes." The elder, it seems, though he had lived there for so long, had never raised his eyes and looked up at the cave. And at the door of his cave there was a great iron-wood tree. And the elder had never looked up at that either. He knew it was in flower when he saw flower stamens (*kesara*) on the ground each year. The king heard of the elder's great virtues, and he sent for him three times, desiring to pay homage to him. When the elder did not go, he had the breasts of all the women with infants in the town [i.e. Mahāgāma] ⁽¹²⁾ bound and sealed off, [saying] "As long as the elder does not come let the children go without milk." Out of compassion for the children the elder went to Mahāgāma. When the king heard [that he had come, he said] "Go and bring the elder in. I shall take the Precepts." Having had him brought up into the inner palace, he paid homage to him and provided him with a meal. Then, saying "Today, venerable sir, there is no opportunity. I shall take the Precepts tomorrow," he took the elder's bowl. After following him for a short while, he paid homage with the queen and turned back. Whether it was the king who paid homage or whether it was the queen, the

elder said, "May the king be happy." As seven days went by in this way, Bhikkhus asked Why is it, venerable sir, that whether it is the king who pays homage or the queen you say, 'May the king be happy?'. The elder replied, "Friends, I do not notice whether it is the king or the queen." At the end of seven days [when it was discovered that] the elder was not happy living there, he was dismissed by the king. He went back to the Great Cave at Kuraṇḍaka. When it was night he went out for his walk. A deity who dwelt in the iron-wood tree stood by with a torch made of sticks. Then his object of meditation became quite clear and plain. The elder, [thinking] "How clear my object of meditation is today!", was glad, and immediately after the middle watch he reached the Arahant-ship, making the whole mountain resound.

As shown above, the contents of these two are not entirely identified: that of the *Visuddhimagga* is more detailed. Nevertheless these stories clearly agree with each other with regard to synopsis and substance. It goes without saying that the *Visuddhimagga* was composed by Buddhaghosa mainly on the basis of the so-called Sīhaḷa sources or Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā such as the Mahāṭṭhakathā which had been preserved at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, and also on the basis of the *Vimuttimaggā*, etc. of the Abhayagirivihāra, the headquarters of a rival fraternity within Theravāda Buddhism in ancient Sri Lanka. The above story in the *Visuddhimagga* cannot be found in the Chinese version of the *Vimuttimaggā* ⁽¹³⁾ of the Abhayagiri fraternity. Accordingly this must have been included in the Sīhaḷa sources. Incidentally, with regard to locations and dates of the respective stories, the story of the *Sīhaḷavatthu* can

be regarded as dating from the reign of King Mahāsenā, because of his occurrence in it, but its location is unknown. However in spite of the date of the story in the *Visuddhimagga* being unclear as the king appearing in this story is left anonymous, its location was Mahāgāma, the local capital of the southern area of Sri Lanka in those days. However there are no records of King Mahāsenā ever having lived in this place.⁽¹⁴⁾ Therefore it would not be reasonable to conclude, simply by combing the above two facts, that the original story for both stories was the one in Malāgāma area in the period of King Mahāsenā.

Moreover we are also able to find some instances which demonstrate a corresponding story of the *Sihaḷavattu* is more detailed than a corresponding story of the Pāli commentaries quite contrary to the above instance. The following is a brief outline of Story No. 81, Mahānāga-Cūḷanāgattara Vattu in the *Sihaḷavattu*,⁽¹⁵⁾ which offers a good example in this respect:

The elder Mahānāga and the elder Cūḷanāga, two brothers coming from Yonakagiri in Sri Lanka had not once seen their parents in the six years since their ordination. After attaining the Arahantship, they hoped to have a look at their parents. They returned to their native place; went to the parents' house asking for alms; and cast a glance at their mother in secret. Suspecting them to be her sons, the mother questioned them to this effect, but the sons, dodging the question, went away. The mother entered the Order herself; sought out her sons; and at last was able to meet them. However the sons obliged her return home. At a later time when her house became derelict, they obtained timber and had the house rebuilt. Nevertheless they never met her again

throughout their whole lives.

A similar story to the above can be found in the *Sāratthappa-*⁽¹⁶⁾*kāsinī*, the commentary on the Saṃyutta-nikāya. Its content is, however, more concise. For example there is no mention made in the story in question of the mother entering the Order or later passages. In addition, a careful comparison makes it clear that, although the brothers' names, Mahānāga and Cūḷanāga are identical, the following various points are subtly different:

Their birth place is not Yonakagiri but Vadhatala-nagara-gāma; their place of residence, unrecorded in the *Sihaḷavattu*, is mentioned as Cittala-pabbata; and the duration when they did not meet their mother is not six years, but thirty years. The rough outline and gist of the two stories essentially agree however. Consequently this example also proves that the *Sihaḷavattu* and the Pāli commentarial literature have at least part of their source material in common.

3. Comparison with Pāli Chronicles

Next, I shall look into the relations between the *Sihaḷavattu* and Pāli chronicles. As in the case regarding the *Sihaḷavattu* and Pāli commentaries already discussed, some corresponding stories which seem to have derived from certain common sources can be identified. To take a single example, Story No.42, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi-⁽¹⁷⁾rañño Vattu in the *Sihaḷavattu* is a description of his deathbed scene, and another description of the same event of the same king exists in Chapter XXXII, the Entrance into the Tusita-Heaven⁽¹⁸⁾ (*Tusitapuragamaṇa*) in the *Mahāvamsa*.

Their respective opening passages in verse are as follows:

Sihālavatthu

- 1 In Anurādhapura, lived King Abhaya Duṭṭhagāmaṇi⁽¹⁹⁾ for twenty-four years and he ruled over his kingdom.
- 2 He who was reigning fell seriously ill, and ordered his retainers as follows:
- 3 "Take me to the Mahāvihāra (Great Monastery) and lay me down at a place inside from where the Pāsāda (Lofty Hall) can be seen to the left, and the Mahāthūpa (Great Tope) to the right."
- 4 From the front of the Maricavaṭṭi [Monastery], Duṭṭhagāmaṇi lying down there looked over at the best Thūpa by turning
- 5 [his body] to the right, and the brilliant Pāsāda by turning [it] to the left. Then sitting up on the couch, he looked over at the Maricavaṭṭivihāra, the holy abode in front.
- 6 At this moment, the elder Abhaya Theraputta, resident at the⁽²⁰⁾ Anurādhavihāra in Rohaṇa, watched [this scene] with the
- 7 divine-eye; went underground; stood at the king's bedside; and sat down there....

Mahāvamsa

- 1 Before the completion of the *chatta*⁽²¹⁾ and the plaster-work on the (Great) Cetiya, the king fell ill with an illness that was
- 2 fated to be terminal. He sent for his younger brother (Saddhā)-Tissa from Dīghavāpi and said to him: "Complete the work
- 3 of the Thūpa that is not yet finished. "Because of his brother's weakness, he had a covering made by sewing
- 4 workers of white cloths and with such the cetiya was covered, and then he ordered painters to paint a convincing

- 5 railing on it and also rows of filled vases and a row with⁽²²⁾
- 6 the five-fingers ornament. And he had a *chatta* made of bamboo-reeds by plaiters of reeds and on the upper railing, a
- 7 sun and moon of kharapatta-wood. And when he had had this⁽²³⁾ (thūpa) painted cunningly with lacquer and *kaṅkuṭṭhaka*, he declared to the king: that which remained in order to
- 8 complete the thūpa is now completed. Lying on a palanquin, the king went there, and when lying on his palanquin he
- 9 passed round the cetiya going towards the left, he paid homage to it at the south entrance, and as he then, lying on his right side on his couch spread upon the ground,
- 10 beheld the best Mahā Thūpa (Great Tope), and lying on his left side the best Lohapāsāda, he became glad at heart,
- 11 surrounded by the brotherhood of Bhikkhus. In order to inquire after the ill [king], they had come from far and wide, and the Bhikkhus in that assembly amounted to nine
- 12 hundred and sixty million (96 *koṭis*). The Bhikkhus, group by group, recited in chorus. When the king did not see the
- 13 elder Theraputta Abhaya among them he thought: "The great warrior, who fought victoriously through twenty-eight battles
- 14 with me and never yielded his ground, the elder Theraputta Abhaya appears not to come to help me, now that the death-struggle is begun, for he foresees my defeat." When the
- 15 elder, who dwelt by the source of the River Karinda on Mt. Pañjali, knew his thought, he came with a company of five hundred [Bhikkhus] who had overcome earthly desires, passing through the air by his miraculous power, and he stood among those who surrounded the king.

As has been obvious from the above quotations, the description of the *Mahāvamsa* is more detailed, yet the substance of each story is very similar. Following the above passages, the stories in both texts equally give further statements that enumerate the king's good deeds and offerings to the Order, which were talked about between the king himself and the elder Theraputta Abhaya (or Abhaya Theraputta). The entire contents of their conversation are also more detailed in the story of the *Mahāvamsa*,⁽²⁴⁾ and these two stories are not necessarily identifiable. However, the following five points at least concerning their outlines and substances correspond with each other:

- (1) The above identical elder preached the king not to fear death.
- (2) The king's efforts in the construction of the Mahāthūpa, Lohapāsāda and Maricavaṭṭivihāra as part of his good deeds were emphasized and praised.
- (3) Among many monks to whom the king gave offerings, the elders Māleyyadeva,⁽²⁵⁾ Dhammagutta(ka),⁽²⁶⁾ Dhammadinna, Vyaggha and an anonymous elder dwelling in Piyaṅgudīpa were referred to in particular as his main donees.⁽²⁷⁾
- (4) The duration of the king's reign was twenty-four years.
- (5) Immediately after the king's death, a vehicle came down from the heavenly world to accept him and the dead king was reborn above in the Tusita-Heaven.⁽²⁸⁾

Conversely, the corresponding part of the *Dīpavaṃsa*⁽²⁹⁾ is very concise, and as far as this story is concerned, less agreement can be seen between this chronicle and the *Sihālavatthu* and *Mahāvamsa*. In fact the following are the only two identifiable points:

- (1) The duration of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's reign was twenty-four

years.

- (2) He constructed the (Loha) Pāsāda and Mahāthūpa (but the Maricavaṭṭivihāra is not included here).

To return to the comparison of the *Sihālavatthu* with the *Mahāvamsa*, the instance described above is that in which a corresponding story of the *Sihālavatthu* is shorter than that of the *Mahāvamsa*. Conversely certain cases can be found in which an event briefly referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* is recorded in more detail in the *Sihālavatthu*. For example, in the beginning of Chapter XXXIII, Dasarājika (the Ten Kings) in the *Mahāvamsa*, there is a story in which Prince Sāli, the only son of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was greatly enamoured with a very beautiful girl named Asokamāladevi from the Caṇḍāla class (: an outcaste), and abdicating his claim to the throne, he lived in everlasting love with her. This part of the *Mahāvamsa*, however, is so concise that in way of explanation for his rather unusual love to her, it merely states: "by a combination in a former birth"⁽³⁰⁾ and nothing more.

In contrast, a very detailed parallel story concerning their former lives, etc. is mentioned in Story No. 7, Sālikumāra Vatthu in the *Sihālavatthu*.⁽³¹⁾ The present story consists of the following three main parts:

- (1) The respective stories regarding their previous births.
- (2) The circumstances by which Sāli met Asokamāladevi by chance for the first time at a city-gate of Anurādhapura; fell in love with her; got married; and then how his father, the king came to see the couple, and finally permitted their marriage because of her extreme beauty.
- (3) A sequel story in a later period that Sāli practised Buddhist

practices by himself at five places, i. e. the western, northern, eastern, and southern suburbs of Anurādhapura, and a place near Cetiyaḡiri where he each time received plenty of splendid offerings from many people or deity-beings of the respective areas.

The *Mahāvamsa* along with the *Dīpavamsa* are, needless to say, a sort of authentic records of royal events. Accordingly it would have been a matter of course for this work to record, as an important historical account, that a crown prince abandoned the succession of the throne, owing to his unexpected love affair with a Caṇḍāla girl. This account might have been told either in the *Sihala-Mahāvamsaṭṭhakathā*, the major source material for the present *Mahāvamsa* or in oral transmission. In any case, it would have been unnecessary for the *Mahāvamsa* to describe the details of their former relation and of their private life after marriage. Therefore such details were not referred to in this work as it is an official record. On the contrary these details were included in the *Sihālavatthu* which is not a formal chronicle originally, but a Buddhist narrative, for the very reason that they were suitable material for such narrative literature.

In addition, the *Mahāvamsa* simply explained (maybe for the first time) the reason for the unexpected abandonment of the throne by the crown prince as being the couple's "combination in a former birth." This reason might have been based upon the written or oral source for the *Mahāvamsa*, or upon the author's imagination. In any case, concerning this reason given in the *Mahāvamsa*, its commentary, the *Vamsatthappakāsinī*⁽³²⁾ further gives a very detailed description including the couple's respective stories in their previous lives. It starts with the passage below:

Sambaddham pubbaḡātiyā ti anantarattabhāve yeva sannitthapemasena sambaddham.

"A combination in a former birth" means a combination which resulted from a love caused by living together as a couple during the existence immediately before this life.

It is interesting to note that the above stories in the commentary are not a description composed by the author himself, but a quotation from the *Sahassavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* (i.e. *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*) that is, as stated earlier, the same kind of Buddhist narrative as the *Sihālavatthuppakaraṇa*.⁽³³⁾ In this part of MhvṬ, the name of the *Sahassavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* is clearly referred to, although⁽³⁴⁾ the present two editions of this text edited by Rev.A.P.Buddhadatta and by Dr. J. Filliozat (Ver Eecke) both lack the full passages of the stories, the title of which is only listed in the Contents of the work as "Story No.47 Sālirājakumāra Vatthu" in Buddhadatta's edition and "Story No.52 Sāli-kumāra" in Filliozat's edition.⁽³⁵⁾ On the particular pages dealing with this story the following note only is written in each edition:⁽³⁶⁾

Sālirājakumāra Vatthu Mahāvamse vuttanayeva veditabbam.

The Prince Sāli Story should be known through that which is told in the *Mahāvamsa*.

Comparing the corresponding story of Sāli with Asokamāladevi found in the *Sihālavatthu* and the one in the *Sahassavatthu*, we are able to identify a certain similarity between the two with respect to their outlines. Yet as far as the story about their previous births is concerned, the following point illustrates the most important difference: The story in the *Sihālavatthu* gives respective independent stories which describe no direct connection

between the couple: Sāli was a good smith as well as a generous Buddhist donor, and Asokamālādevī was a daughter of a Caṇḍāla family after a few rebirths. They met in this world for the first time, not in their previous existence. While the other story in the *Sahassavatthu* claims that Sāli was a son of a smith named Tissa living in a big village called Mundagaṅga, and Asokamālādevī was the son's wife named Nāgā. They had already been a wedded pair in their existence immediately before this birth. Incidentally the *Rasavāhinī*⁽³⁸⁾, another Buddhist narrative in the same tradition is closer to the *Sahassavatthu* than to the *Sihaḷavatthu* as far as this story is concerned.

As the date of composition of the *Sihaḷavatthu* is still very vague, we are unable to decide definitely whether the author of the *Mahāvamsaṭṭikā*, Mahānāma made use of this text or not, although due to the fact that the *Mahāvamsaṭṭikā* made no quotation from the *Sihaḷavatthu*, he was perhaps ignorant of this work. However this may not have been the case. It is at least obvious that in so far as the Sāli story is concerned, the author of the *Mahāvamsaṭṭikā* was unable to quote from the *Sihaḷavatthu* in order to comment upon the phrase "sambaddhaṃ pubbaḷāṭṭiyā" in the *Mahāvamsa*, because the *Sihaḷavatthu* did not connect Sāli and Asokamālādevī in their previous births as explained before.

4. Unknown Proper Names

In the previous two sections, I discussed some common or similar features existing between the *Sihaḷavatthu* and Pāli commentaries and Pāli chronicles. I will proceed now to the next contrastive problem: that is to search for a certain divergence existing between

them through investigating the unknown proper names in the *Sihaḷavatthu*. The unknown proper names here refer to those which are not taken up as headwords in the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* edited by G.P.Malalasekera. The reason why this dictionary is referred to for the present research is as follows: As is well-known, Malalasekera's Dictionary is exhaustive in so far as Pāli proper names found in the main Pāli texts are concerned, although some statements about certain names are still inadequate and contain some mistakes. It should at least be given credit for the fact that the headwords from the Pāli canon, commentaries and chronicles to which the *Sihaḷavatthu* in question is related, have all been taken up without omission. This dictionary includes the List of Abbreviations by which all the Pāli texts and other works that are referred to in the dictionary can be identified.

According to this list, all the necessary Pāli canon and commentaries and some important sub-commentaries and chronicles, etc.⁽³⁹⁾ have been used in compilation of the dictionary. Therefore if we identify all the proper names in the *Sihaḷavatthu* consulting this dictionary, then we are able to classify all of them as either identified names or unidentified names. The unidentified names in the *Sihaḷavatthu* can be regarded as those which have been made known to us for the first time through this text, and which are derived from certain particular sources. These sources should be considered as not having been included in any other Pāli texts so far known. Such previously unknown names are fairly frequent in the *Sihaḷavatthu*. The following is a classified list of them. (The figures given in brackets refer to the paginations of Buddhaddatt's edition.)

(1) Names of Persons

Elders and Lady Elders—Kalakandaratissatthera(143), Kuṇḍalatissatthera (138f.), Gāmaṇḍasi-Dhammarakkhitatthera(160), Cittābhatthera(61f.) Cūḷatissatthera(80), Tuvaṭakanāgatthera(139), Dakavāsīnāgatthera(110), Dānatthera(160) Nāgarājatthera(160), Manoramamayūramasatthera(17f.), Mahāovāda-dāyakatthera(165), Mahādevatthera(128), Mittatthera(102ff.), Lajjitthera(161), Vyagghatthera(112f. 169), Saddhasumanatthera(164), Soṇatthera(151,=Soṇadāraka 149, shown below).

Novices—Cūḷanāgasāmaṇera(83), Lajjisāmaṇera(151).

Lay-men—Asuka-gahapati(167), Usabhamitta(162), Kanapiyaputtatissa(82ff.) Kambuddha-upāsaka(97ff.), Kārapaṇṇadinnā(99), Kuntakammāra(107), Culla-upāsaka(94), Dākaloṇatissa(6,=Haritālatissa, 10), Tissa-tunnavāyu(1 f.), Mahākoṭṭhadeva (-dahara, 150), Mahācūḷa-upāsaka(105f.), Mahādeva-upāsaka(36ff.), Mahādeva(or Deva)-upāsaka(91ff.), Tissa(123), Sāmañña-dāraka(61), Soṇa-dāraka(149,=Soṇatthera, 151, shown above), Haritāla(ka)tissa(10=Dākaloṇatissa, 6).

Lay-women—Addhavattha-dāyikā(126), Candā-dārikā(146), Cullī-upāsikā (82f., 91, 97, 99 106, 109), Mātudevīkā-nāgi(147), Sumanā-dārikā (5 ff.), Sumanā-dhītā(94ff.), Sumanā-bālikā(123f.), Haṅkāla-upāsikā(89).

(2) Names of Monasteries, etc.

Monasteries—Anurādha-vihāra (111), Upāsīṅga-vihāra (65), Upāsabha-vihāra (63), Kappatilla-vihāra(102), Kālakandara-vihāra (20f, 24f., 145) Kokāṇijakaṇḍagiri-vihāra(71), Koṇḍapūdi-vihāra(57), Cittago-vihāra(60), Vātaṇḍamalaya(-vihāra ? 155).

Topes—Andhakāra-cetiya(149), Āloka-cetiya(149), Pabbata-cetiya(104), Pāṭali-cetiya(149).

Residing Caves—Kālakandara-leṇa(20).

(3) Names of Places

Kingdoms—Mahali-raṭṭha(129).

Countries—Girivāya-janapada(99), Nissadana-janapada(36), Bodhipṭṭhi-janapada (37, 50f., 52), Ramaniya-janapada(55), Sāhuthala-desa(57), Soḷasa-janapada(81), Haṅkāla-janapada(89).

Cities—Asokapura(82), Cikkhiṇṇanagara(70), Pāṭalipura(100, 102), Maricavaṭṭipura(118), Suvaṇṇanagara(77).

Villages—Ajitāvihigāma(91), kaṅgugāma(112), Kaṇikāragāma(12), kappitalagāma(102f.), Kamphuvagāma(158), Kambojagāma(10,14), Kammuva-gāma(109), Karitalagāma(10), Kākaddavigāma(105), Kumbhākāragāma (12), Cūḷagāma (83), Cūḷakālagāma (83), Cesigāma (101) Tammaṇagāma(12), Tibbarā (? 18), Puṇṇaveṭṭhigāma(100), Yātu-gāma(99), Yonakagiri(-gāma ? 167), Vattagāma(36), Vāmamanaddigāma(55), Vissutagāma(59), Satikakaṇḍarāji(-gāma ? 161), Sāmāgāma(17), Sokadhūmikagāma(97), Haṅkālagāma(89), Haritālagāma(7, 10, 11).

Ports—Ālārabāla-paṭṭana (57), Kaṇṭakasola-paṭṭana(35), Mahākoṇḍa-tittha (39, 42), Mahākoṇḍa-paṭṭana (136).

Rivers—Kālakandara-nadi(144), Porimāsī-nadi(57f.)

Mountains—Accimantasela-pabbata(67f.), Kaṅgupabbata (122), Cittābhapabbata (62), Cūḷagiri (164f.), Māpitapabbata (113), Mahāni-dhipabbata (63), Rohaṇapabbata (52), Rohaṇapassa (37), Setapabbata (85).

Forests—Rattadhakāra-vana (161)

(4) Other Names

Ghosts—Kasipeta (44,47), Taṇḍulapeta (47ff.), Thambhapeta (42ff.), Patākāpeta (52ff.), Pāsāṇapeta (39, 42), Balivaddapeta(55f.), Bhattantarāyakarapeta (50,52), Saṅghasantakapamapeta (57, 59).

Gods—Umāpati (epithet of Siva, 77)

All the above names of the *Sīhaḷavatthu* which are not identified by Malalasekera's dictionary, as previously mentioned, seem to have originated from certain sources uncommon to those of the major Pāli texts so far known. They amount to more than one hundred and twenty. Besides them, we are able to see some other names of the same kind in a list of persons which is divided into two parts given at the very end of Buddhaddatta's⁽⁴⁰⁾ edition. The names in this list can be classified in the following four groups:

- (1) Names of persons which can be found not only in the *Sīhaḷavatthu* itself, but also in other Pāli texts: Māleyyadevatthera (109ff.), Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Mahārāja (11f., 27, 29, 111, 164), Bhaṇḍāgārikatissa (115, 118), Tambasumanatthera (24, 119), Kākavaṇṇatissa Mahārāja (128ff.), Sālikumāra (27, 32, 130).
- (2) Names of persons which are made known to us for the first time in stories themselves of the *Sīhaḷavatthu*: Mahādeva (-upāsaka 36ff., 91ff. or -thera 128), Sumana-dārikā (twice, 5 ff.), Kambuddha(-upāsaka ? 97ff.), Mahācuḷa-upāsaka (105f.). They are already included in the classified list shown above.
- (3) Names of persons which are listed in this list only: Cūḷa-upāsikā,⁽⁴¹⁾ Kusala-upāsaka, Haṅkāla-upāsaka, Daḷiddattherikā, Suvanna-kāra Konta, Tissa-dārikā, Daḷidda-upāsaka.
- (4) Names of persons which are too vague to be recognized as proper names: 'upāsikā kesakalāpe', Duggatitthi, Mittatthera, Kammāra, Mahāgāma-bālikā

The names of the third group and probably of the fourth as well could be regarded as the Unknown Proper Names now

in question as in the case of the second group.

5. Concluding Remarks

I have discussed the *Sīhaḷavatthu* and Pāli commentaries, and also the *Sīhaḷavatthu* and Pāli chronicles, comparing their contents from the position of the chronological commonalities of their source materials. As a result of this investigation, the following remarks can be concluded:

- (1) The *Sīhaḷavatthu* and Pāli commentaries of which the major source is called the "Sīhaḷatṭhakathā", share their source materials: as for corresponding stories about certain historical accounts, etc., the one includes more detailed descriptions than the other does. Reverse cases are also to be found.
- (2) The same can be said to be true of the textual relation existing between the *Sīhaḷavatthu* and Pāli chronicles specifically the *Mahāvamsa*, the basic source of which is widely known as the "Sīhaḷa-Mahāvamsatṭhakathā". Some common or similar features found in corresponding stories of these two suggest that they originated at least in part from certain common sources.
- (3) On the other hand, the *Sīhaḷavatthu* contains numerous proper names which cannot be identified even with the aid of Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, the most exhaustive one of its kind ever published. These unknown names are widely related to persons such as Buddhist monks and lay-people; Buddhist buildings such as monasteries, topes and residing caves; places such as kingdoms, countries, cities, villages, ports, rivers, mountains and forests; and miscellaneous ones such as ghosts and gods. Altogether they amount to more than one hundred and twenty. The existence

of unidentified proper names in the *Sihaḷavattu* proves that this text partially originated from some other sources than those of the major Pāli texts already known to us such as the Pāli canon, commentaries, chronicles, some important sub-commentaries, etc.

(4) The *Sihaḷavattu* newly presents, as a whole, many unknown stories or parts of stories concerning known or unknown historical individuals and events. In this respect, this text can be recognized as valuable material in contributing to new statements upon ancient history and Buddhism mainly within Sri Lanka and additionally in India.

ABBREVIATIONS:

Cv:	Cūḷavaṃsa	JBS:	Journal of Buddhist Studies (Hamamatsu, Japan)
Das:	Dasavathuppakaraṇa	JSH:	Jōsai Studies in the Humanities (Jōsai University, Japan)
Dhk:	Dhātukathā	JSSR:	Journal of the Sōtō Sect Researchers (Tokyo)
Dhp:	Dhammapada	Kākh:	Kāṅkhāvitaraṇi
Dpv:	Dipavaṃsa	Kv:	Kathāvatthu
DPPN:	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names (G.P. Malalasekera, London 1960 <First published 1937—38> 2 vols.	Mbv:	Mahābodhivaṃsa
Dthv:	Dāthāvaṃsa	Mhv:	Mahāvaṃsa
Gv:	Gaṇḍhavaṃsa	MhvT:	Mahāvaṃsaṭṭikā, Vaṃsatthappakāsini
HBC:	History of Buddhism in Ceylon (W.Rahula, Colombo 1956)	Mil:	Milindapañha
HOS:	Harvard Oriental Series	Net:	Nettipakaraṇa
IBK:	Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū, or Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Tokyo)	P:	Paṭṭhāna
		PEFEO:	Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
		PTS:	Pāli Text Society

Ras:	Rasavāhinī	Taishō:	Taishō Tripiṭaka of Chinese Version (Tokyo 1897—1910, reprint: 1960—79)
SA:	Samyuttaṭṭhakathā, Sāratthappakāsini		
Sads:	Saddhammasaṅgaha		100 vols.
Sah:	Sahassavathuppakaraṇa	Vibh:	Vibhaṅga
Sas:	Sāsanavaṃsa	Vim:	Vimuttimaggā
Sih:	Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa	Vis:	Visuddhimaggā
Smp:	Samantapāsādikā, Vinayaṭṭhakathā	VisT:	Visuddhimaggatīkā, Paramatthamañjūsā
SN:	Samyutta Nikāya	Y:	Yamaka

NOTES:

(The references to Pāli texts are to PTS editions unless specified otherwise.)

- (1) I am grateful to Miss B. A. Scott, a British Visiting Professor, Women's Junior College of Jōsai University, Japan, for having read over my English in this article.
- (2) Two editions of this text are available at present: A.P. Buddhadatta, ed.: *Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa*. Sri Lanka 1959; Jacqueline Ver Eecke: *le Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa: texte pāli et traduction* (PEFEO CXXIII) Paris 1980.
- (3) "On the *Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa*" (IBK Vol. XXI, No. 1<1972> pp. 429—36); "Some Documental Characteristics of the *Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa*" (*Indian and Buddhist Thought: felicitation volume presented to Professor Dr. Hajime Nakamura*, Tokyo 1973, pp. 309—22); "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the *Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa* (I): Chapter I, Stories 1—2" (JSSR No. 5<1973> pp. 191—202); "A Japanese Translation and Notes of the *Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa* (II): Chapter I, Stories 3—5" (JSH No. 1<1973> pp. 80—101); "Review on (I) *le Dasavathuppakaraṇa: édité et traduit* par J. Ver Eecke, (now J. Filliozat) (II) *le Sihaḷavathuppakaraṇa: texte pāli et traduction* par J. Ver Eecke" (JSH No. 10<1983> pp. 147—68).
- (4) The Pāli commentaries here refer to the *Visuddhimaggā* and the primary commentaries upon the Pāli canon. They are on occasion also called the Aṭṭhakathā texts, the (Pāli) Aṭṭhakathās or the Pāli commentarial texts, etc.
- (5) S. Mori: *Pāli Bukkyō Chūshaku-bunken no Kenkyū: Aṭṭhakathā no*

- Jyōzabu-teki Yōsō* (*A Study of the Pāli Commentaries : Theravādic aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās*) Tokyo : Sankiō Busshorin 1984, pp. 309—466.
- (6) With regard to the reigning dates of the kings in Sri Lanka, S. Paranavitana's list is adopted in this study, because this is the most recent and the most reliable. (C.W. Nicholas & S. Paranavitana: *A Concise History of Ceylon*, Colombo 1961, pp. 341—45). Cf. S. Mori: "Review on Friedgard Lottermoser's *Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa*" (JBS Vol. XV 1985, pp. 137—39).
- (7) However the main part of the sources for the Aṭṭhakathā texts seems to have ceased to develop in the period of King Vasabha (reigning: 65—109 A.D.).
- (8) p. 153 in Buddhadatta's edition; p. 143 in Ver Eecke's edition.
- (9) p. 38f. in PTS edition; p. 31 in HOS edition. Cf. Bhikkhu Nyānamoli, tr. the *Path of Purification: Visuddhimagga*, Colombo 1964, Vol. I, p. 102f.
- (10) The elder with the same name also appears on two other pages in Vis (pp. 171, 173).
- (11) The words in brackets in my translation are supplied by me to aid a better understanding despite a lack of original words.
- (12) VisṬ (I—103) comments: "tasmiṃ gāme Mahāgāme". Mahāgāma was the local capital in southern Sri Lanka in ancient times.
- (13) *Gedatsudōron* (Taishō Vol. XXXI, p. 403b).
- (14) Dpv chap. XXII, vv. 66—76; Mhv chap. XXXVII, vv. 1ff.
- (15) p. 167f. in Buddhadatta's edn.; p. 157 in Ver Eecke's edn.
- (16) SA II—166f.
- (17) p. 111, vv. 1—7 in Buddhadatta's edn.; p. 103, vv. 1—8 in Ver Eecke's edn.
- (18) Mhv chap. XXXII, vv. 1—5.
- (19) With regard to this king, see S. Mori: "Chronology of the 'Sihala Sources' for the Pāli Commentaries (I)" (JBS Vol. XVI<1987>, p. 169f.)
- (20) Concerning this elder, see Mhv chap. XXIII, vv. 2, 63ff.; chap. XXVI, v. 2; chap. XXXII, vv. 48ff.; MhvṬ II—453, etc. He was originally one of the ten great warriors of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.
- (21) Regarding the *chattakamma*, see N.A. Jayawickrama: the *Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, London 1971, p. 136, n. 8.
- (22) Regarding the railing (*vedika*), see do.

- (23) Cf. Mhv p. 355, "Notes on a Few Remarkable Words and Forms". There is an explanation: "*kankuṭṭhako*, a kind of soil or mould of a golden or silver colour."
- (24) The whole story of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is related in 84 verses altogether; whereas that of the *Sihajavatthu* takes 49 verses in Buddhadatta's edn., and 51 verses in Ver Eecke's edn.
- (25) Mhv: Malayamahādeva or Maliyadeva.
- (26) Mhv: Mahāvayagga.
- (27) But Maṅgaṇavāsika Khuddatissatthera is referred to in Mhv (chap. XXXII, v. 53) only.
- (28) Chapter XVI, Mahācetiya-kathā in the *Thūpavaṃsa* written by Vācissara in the thirteenth C. is very similar to Chapter XXXII in the *Mahāvaṃsa* now in question. As Geiger has pointed out, the composition of the former was clearly based upon the latter. (Ethel M. Coomaraswamy, tr.: the *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa and their Historical Development in Ceylon* by W. Geiger, Colombo 1908, p. 85f.; N.A. Jayawickrama: *op. cit.* <n. 21>, pp. 248—53). As for the date of Vācissara, see *ibid.*, Introd. p. xxif.
- (29) Dpv chap. XVIII, v. 53f.; chap. IXX, vv. 1—10.
- (30) The original phrase is "sambaddham pubba-jātiyā". Incidentally no statement about Prince Sāli can be obtained in Dpv.
- (31) pp. 26—32 in Buddhadatta's edn.; pp. 24—28 in Ver Eecke's edn.
- (32) MhvṬ II—605.
- (33) Cf. W. Rahula: HBC Introd. pp. xxvii—xli.
- (34) MhvṬ quotes the *Sahassavatthu* at least two times apart from the case of the story of Sāli: pp. 451, 453. Cf. S. Mori: "the *Sahassavatthu* as referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭikā*" (IBK Vol. XXII, No. 1 <1973>, pp. 115—20).
- (35) A.P. Buddhadatta, ed.: *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, Sri Lanka 1959, p. xxix.
- (36) Jacqueline Filiozat: *le Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa: édition critique et version française*, Paris, Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient 1986, p. 5.
- (37) p. 108 in Buddhadatta's edn.; p. 94 in Filiozat's edn.
- (38) K. Nanavimala, ed.: *Rasavāhinī*, Colombo 1961, pp. 218—26.
- (39) All Pāli canon except for Dhp, Vibh, Dhk, Y and P, and all Pāli com-

mentaries except for those on Dhk, Pug, Kv, Y and P, together with chronicles such as Dpv, Mhv, Dthv, Gv, Mbv, and Sas, and also some other important works such as Mīl, Net, Sads, MhvṬ, etc. are dealt with exhaustively as the source material of this dictionary. Those notable exceptions mentioned above are almost all Abhidhammic texts which contain no proper names to be referred to. Some headwords which have been taken up only from Ras cannot be consulted on this matter, because this text is concerned with the same lineage as Sih and Sah, then many proper names in the former can be supposed to have originated from the latter.

- (40) p. 170. Although the meaning of this list is rather unclear, in its footnote, it is noted by the editor concerning this list, that "K. pot-take imāni uddānāni natthi. Tāni pana sagāthakavatthūnaṃ ante yojettabbāni."; and this list is excluded in Ver Eecke's edition.
- (41) There is a possibility that this person is the identical with Cullipāsikā (pp. 82f., 91, 97, 99, 106, 109).

STUDIES OF THE PALI COMMENTARIES :
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